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"By Measures Taken of Men": Clothing the Classes in William Carlin's Alexandria

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APPROVAL PAGE

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ABSTRACT PAGE

William Carlin's account book of 1763-1782 is the only known surviving Virginia tailor's ledger from the eighteenth century. As such, this document offers a unique opportunity to explore the social inclusivity of the tailor shop as a marketplace and patterns of consumption in the second half of the eighteenth century. William Carlin's account book testifies to the range of Alexandria's society and citizenry, and serves as a lens through which to examine the acts of consumerism and self-fashioning as experienced by artisans, merchants, gentlemen-planters, and their slaves in eighteenth-century Virginia.

Whether they managed their plantation in an expensive suit of blue silk, conducted business in white linen, made wheels or candlesticks in shaloon, or took orders from their masters while wearing leather breeches, Virginians called on William Carlin to make their clothes, and Carlin's account book recorded it all. It is clear to see that there is a void in the historiography of textile, social, and consumer studies which leaves these details about the act of purchasing clothes unexplored. The results of a quantatative and systematic study of William Carlin's account book will seek to answer these unexplored questions, while also providing a solid foundation for later explorations into the historiography of social history and material culture.

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This work is dedicated to:

The Tailors of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Department of Historic Trades

Mark and Neal, thank you for taking me in as an intern, fostering and encouraging this project, and putting up with my naggings for nearly three years. I am in awe of your dedication and contribution to the scholarship of material culture and public history, and I sincerely hope that this thesis proves I am a better scholar than I am a seamstress!

and to:

The National Institute of American History and Democracy

Dr. Carolyn Whittenburg and Dr. James Whittenburg, please accept this dedication as a small token of my eternal gratitude for sending a girl in Ohio an acceptance letter to the Pre-Collegiate Program in 2004. I will carry your support and encouragement, and our shared love of history with me always.

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My acknowledgements cannot be complete without thanking William Carlin for his record keeping and whatever powers ensured the survival of his account book into the twenty-first century. Standing at this culmination of a three-year long love-hate relationship with you, Mr. Carlin, I can only hope that our journey together is far from over.

INTRODUCTION

It has been said that "clothes make the man. Naked people have little to no influence on society."[1] In that spirit William Carlin served the citizens of Alexandria, Virginia, as a tailor from 1763 through 1782. As the only surviving account book from a Virginia tailor in the colonial period, William Carlin's records offer a rare and unique insight into the world of consumerism and material culture. The account book chronicles twenty years of business dealings, in which Carlin and his apprentices noted each transaction by customer, date, cost of the service, and goods received.

Carlin's surviving account book provides the names of 130 customers who entered his shop to be measured and fitted for clothing. These customers span the breadth of Virginia society, from gentry planters such as George Washington and George Mason, to artisans such as Charles Jones, and to poor whites such as plantation overseer Thomas Bishop. An analysis of these transactions affords scholars a unique opportunity to better understand how colonial Virginians acquired clothing, what they wore, and the life they lived in their clothes.

Methodology and Sources Used

In order to analyze the range and activities of William Carlin's clientele, each of the 130 customers listed in the account book was researched to identify their occupation and role in Alexandria society. I obtained biographical information for 101 of these customers using primary documents including tax lists, newspapers, and will abstracts from the city of Alexandria and Fairfax County. Compilations of primary source material, notably Michael Miller, *Artisans and Merchants of Alexandria, Virginia, 1780-*

[1] Mark Twain, *More Maxims of Mark Twain,* Merle Johnson, ed. (New York, Printed Privately, 1927), 6.

1820 and Wesley Pippenger, *Marriage and Death Notices from Alexandria, Virginia Newspaper, Volume 1:1784-1838,* have provided myriad information.[2] *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel, also aided in indentifying the gentlemen, artisans, and Alexandria citizenry listed in the account book.[3]

Using these sources, I quantified William Carlin's customers into six occupational categories, and one group, "unknown," which include customers whose activities and status in Alexandria have not been identified. These six categories are: attorneys, merchants, tavern keepers, planters, artisans, and "other." Citizens in the "other" category have occupations including sheriffs, workers and servants, physicians, and ministers.

Two statistical modeling software programs—SPSS and Microsoft Excel—allowed me to quantify the transactions of individuals in each of these categories of Carlin's clientele. Using this software, I sorted Carlin's transactions by the customers' occupation. This methodology allowed me to delineate which categories of society are most active in Carlin's shop, and what types of patrons made up his income as a tailor. Additionally, mapping this data in SPSS has allowed me to identify consumer trends by customer, amounts spent for distinct types of garments and transactions, and other patterns.

This thesis seeks to explore only the clothing transactions in Carlin's account book. Of the total 3,253 transactions, 2,333 are specific to making clothes and the fabric

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[2] Michael Miller, *Artisans and Merchants of Alexandria, Virginia* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1992); and Wesley Pippenger, *Marriage and Death Notices from Alexandria, Virginia Newspapers, Volume 1:1784-1838* (Privately Published, 2005).

[3] The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008).

and notions associated with garments. Other transactions include ready-made items such as shoes and other sundries, rum, and miscellaneous notes. These purchases are not included in the following analysis.

CHAPTER I

"The Consumption Turn"

The ways in which scholars understand, research, and engage with the early modern Atlantic world have been championed by cultural historians who, during the past twenty years, see the Atlantic world through the lens of the 'consumption turn' in cultural history. Historians of Great Britain first applied this consumer-driven framework to identify factors influencing the British Empire's turn toward modernity. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb applied this framework in their 1983 work, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England.*[1] As a truly interdisciplinary study of the early modern era, the authors blend political, social, and economic history through a compilation of essays to explore England's eighteenth-century Consumer Revolution. *The Birth of a Consumer Society* asserts that the revolution in industry, consumption, and commercialization was a long time coming, but finally occurred in the eighteenth century because of a "happy combination of many circumstances," such as an increased demand for goods in the seventeenth century due to the rise of the East India Company, the evolution of English manufacturing, and economic discourse.[2] By the middle of the eighteenth century, specialized shops, advertising, and sale techniques emerged and the elite class "indulged in an orgy of spending."[3]

Additionally, McKendrick, et al. argue that although the pursuit of luxury was initially viewed as a threat to the delicate social structure of eighteenth-century England,

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[1] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington:Indiana University Press; 1982).
[2] Ibid., 13.
[3] Ibid., 10.

eventually the Consumer Revolution became seen as a phenomenon that was "socially desirable, for as the growth of new wants stimulated increased effort and output, improved consumption by all ranks of society would further stimulate economic progress."[4] Because of the Consumer Revolution, the middle class rose to emulate the material worlds of their social superiors. Improved roads, frequent fairs, dolls, magazines, print culture and elaborate shop displays contributed to the dissemination of styles, textiles, and Wedgwood's pottery. Fashionable trends spread to nearly every member of society-"the infection of the first class soon spread among the second," and "a taste for elegancies spread itself through all ranks and degrees of men."[5]

Reviewers criticized *The Birth of a Consumer Society* for emphasizing production, rather than incorporating the viewpoint of the average consumer.[6] Lorna Weatherill's *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* provides the voices of the consumers that critics found missing from *Consumer Society*.[7] Using probate inventories, personal diaries, household accounts, and print culture, Weatherill's text undertakes an analysis of middling consumption. At the household level, Weatherill analyzes family income in relation to consumerism, noting that expenditures on some things (clothing and household maintenance) maintained priority over other goods. Weatherill also engages the domestic environment, household labor and the family members and servants who performed it, and a family's social, economic, and occupational status in relation to the material culture of a household. Contrary to

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[4] Ibid., 19.
[5] Ibid., 51.
[6] Peter Earle, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Aug., 1983). 453-455.
[7] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge Press, 1988).

McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, Weatherill states that the middle class's emulation of their social betters is an over-generalized and over-stated conclusion about the nature of consumerism in the eighteenth century. In defense of the middle class and their motivations, Weatherill concludes that "there were many reasons why people wanted to own material goods, some practical, some financial, some psychological."[8]

But buy goods people did. Hoh-Cheung and Lorna H. Mui's *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England* showcases the increasing modes and venues for shopping and advertising in eighteenth-century England, and seeks to reverse the assumption that this was a nineteenth-century development.[9] In a clear allusion to McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb's text, the authors state that "it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that if a 'consumer society' can be said to have been born in [the eighteenth century], a firmly established network of shops, some of whose proprietors actively attracted customers, nourished the new society." In their introduction, Mui and Mui even go so far as to challenge Neil McKendrick's contribution (or lack thereof) to the historiography of shops and shopkeeping in England, and set out to explore this often "neglected variable" of the Consumer Revolution. Mui and Mui show how shopkeepers disseminated goods (tea, notably) and facilitated the social classes' need for material items through an increased number of shops and strategies catering to the needs of each class. Pivotal in their examination of shops and shop keeping is the rise of the middle

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[8] Ibid., 200.

[9] Hoh-Cheung and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeing in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

class in the eighteenth century, "whose members and incomes were increasing" along with the goods they required.[10]

Hailed by Cary Carson as a new benchmark in the study of the Consumer Revolution, Shammas' *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America,* "deals with three subjects- demand, standards of living, and distribution" in an attempt to understand the evolution of consumption habits in England and colonial America.[11] Using probate inventories, import data, and price lists, Shammas finds that consumer demand for food and durable goods increased during the early modern period, leading to a rise in accepted standards of living. Shammas also explores the nature of who in English and American households made decisions about and accessed goods. Cary Carson posed that, much like *Birth of a Consumer Society,* Shammas's work set a new benchmark in the scholarship of the Consumer Revolution. Carson states that "new research on this lively topic will continue to swirl around and past Carole Shammas's book, now solidly lodged in the mainstream of scholarship. Her data and her analyses mark the channel through which all future interpretations must steer or risk running aground."[12]

Historians of early America continue to join in the conversation of consumerism and its effects on shaping the colonial experience; focusing primarily on how early Americans used goods to fashion themselves against the backdrop of a stratified society. Notably, Peter J. Albert, Cary Carson, and Ronald Hoffman's compilation of essays--*Of*

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[10] Ibid., 289.
[11] Carole Shammas, *The Preindustrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3.
[12] Cary Carson, *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, Vol. 50, No. 2., Early American History: It's Past and Future (Apr., 1993), 430-433.

Consuming Interest: the Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century--showcases the role of the retail shop, fashion, and material goods in the everyday lives of the gentry and middling sort alike.[13] Ann Smart Martin has shown that retail stores contemporary to Carlin's tailor shop were "semipublic arenas where a broad cross section of society- men and women, rich and poor, black and white- participated in a common act of consumption performance," and that by analyzing the activities at these shops historians stand to gain insight into the flexibility of a society which was ordinarily defined "by formal stratification of class, race, ethnicity, and gender."[14] William Carlin's account book, which includes the transactions of members from a variety of backgrounds, reinforces the fact that colonial Virginians shared not only a common act of consumption, but a common space in the tailor's shop.

"Fashioning Themselves": Fashion as a Framework

The role of clothing has become important in historians' understanding of colonial conspicuous consumption and avid consumerism. For example, Karin Calvert has shown that the middling members of colonial society routinely turned to their tailors to 'fashion' themselves (if only in appearance) as members of a higher social rank.[15] Richard Bushman has also shown the importance of clothing, but from the perspective of the gentry who utilized it to define their place in society.[16] T.H. Breen has made important contributions to the scholarship of fashion and choice in consumerism,

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[13] Peter J. Albert, Cary Carson, and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press,1994).
[14] Ann Smart Martin, "Commercial Space as Consumption Arena: Retail Stores in Early Virginia," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 8 (2000): 201.
[15] Karin Calvert, "The Function of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America," in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. Peter J. Albert, Cary Carson, and Ronald Hoffman (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1994), 252-283.
[16] Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

demonstrating the act of purchasing clothing as a ubiquitous experience shared by nearly everyone in society.[17] John Styles has shown that the desire for fashion in an era of the Consumer Revolution "extended to the working multitude" of Britain's eighteenth-century population.[18] Styles continues the discussion of the working class' desire for goods and commodities begun by Neil McKendrick and Jan DeVries. Linda Baumgarten's scholarship on extant eighteenth-century textiles examines the social implications in the fashion of the gentry, the working class, and, to some extent, slaves.[19]

Ann Smart Martin's work has highlighted the role of the middling and poor whites in the marketplace, and explored evidence of consumer patterns among enslaved African Americans on Virginia's frontier.[20] However, four articles appearing in academic journals in the past twenty years have set the standard for historians' understanding of slaves' acquisitions of clothing and material goods in the eighteenth century. Using primarily runaway advertisements as sources, each article draws incomplete conclusions about the nature of slave clothing and slaves' self-fashioning in the eighteenth century. Baumgarten's "'Clothes for the People:' Slave Clothing in Early Virginia" examines the differences between slave clothing and that of slave masters, noting that fashion in eighteenth-century Virginia was an important indicator of one's place in society.[21] Just as wealthy white gentry could be identified by their clothing, so too could their slaves. Similarly, Baumgarten outlines the differences evident in slave clothing, in accordance

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[17] T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence,* (New York: Oxford, 2004).
[18] John Styles, *The Dress of the People* (London: Yale University Press, 2007),2.
[19]Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*: *The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
[20] Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into a World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2008).
[21] Linda Baumgarten, "'Clothes for the People:" Slave Clothing in Early Virginia," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* no.14 (Nov., 1988), 27-70.

with the inherent hierarchy of the institution. According to Baumgarten's research, no matter what a particular slave's station, his clothing reflected his occupation and his life. Slaves in Baumgarten's study wore clothes made of imported cloth from Europe, which were either ordered by masters who provided scanty measurements to tailors in England or mass-produced by seamstresses on Virginia plantations. Jonathan Prude's "To Look Upon the Lower Sort: Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750-1800" continued Baumgarten's use of runaway advertisements to examine the clothing of eighteenth-century slaves, concluding that clothes worn by the lower sort (slaves and white indentured servants) were old, loose, ill-fitting, coarse, and plain.[22]

Additionally, David Waldstreicher's "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century-Mid-Atlantic" assesses runaway slave advertisements to understand slave agency in and manipulation of public spheres, noting that clothing played an important part in a slave's ability to move throughout the "black Atlantic."[23] Waldstreicher asserts further that all the clothing slaves and servants took with them when they escaped must have been stolen from white masters, which afforded slaves the opportunity to change their look as many times as they changed their stories.

In Waldstreicher's context, slave clothing functioned as a way for runaways to elude their pursuers and avoid capture. However, Shane and Graham White's article, "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth

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[22] Jonathan Prude, "To Look Upon the 'Lower Sort': Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750-1800," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 78, no. 1 (Jun., 1991), 124-159.

[23] David Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century-Mid-Atlantic," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. 56, no. 2 (Apr., 1999), 243-272.

Centuries," examines how slaves used clothing to establish group identity and react to and challenge the cultural expectations of white masters.[24] In a society where appearances meant everything, "it was clearly intended that slaves would wear loose-fitting garments made of the coarsest available cloth."[25] Actions which allowed slaves to acquire additional and, perhaps, elite clothing "disturbed the nuanced social order that clothing was supposed to display, blurring the borderlines between black and white, slave and free."[26] The authors assert that in the eighteenth century, colonial whites imported clothing and therefore "doled out" only the most drab, unattractive, ill-fitting, and standardized garments to their slaves. As to the question of how slaves acquired articles of clothing, the Whites conclude that slaves stole them from their masters or other whites, which they say would explain why "the sight of a well-dressed slave, particularly one displaying expensive items of apparel, aroused suspicion that the wearer might be involved in some sort of illicit activity."[27]

Historians have not yet moved beyond run-away advertisements in an attempt to better understand the nature of slave clothing. Runaway advertisements alone can only provide researchers with a glimpse of what slaves wore at one moment in time before they absconded from their masters. As such, runaway advertisements do not yield information about how a slave experienced clothing and its functions throughout the course of his or her life. Furthermore, historians have not looked to tailor-shop account records to identify what articles of clothing masters commissioned specifically for their

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[24] Shane and Graham White, "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Past and Present,* no. 148 (August 1995), 149-186.
[25] Ibid., 154.
[26] Ibid., 162.
[27] Ibid., 158.

slaves, alongside the clothing they commissioned for themselves. Carlin's accounts provide valuable details to add to this discussion, documenting the articles of clothing that masters commissioned specifically for their slaves. Additionally, the very presence of slave clothing in the account book provides definitive proof that slaves received clothing from the hands of a local tailor, contrary to assumptions that slaves received standardized and ill-fitting clothing from mass production systems on plantations or from unseen hands in England.

"Independence in Their Own Homes": Fashionable Myths of Colonial America

William Carlin's account book challenges myths of colonial clothing that have marked the historiography of consumerism and style for over a century. First, the notion that colonial Americans were individually responsible for the production of their own clothing, from its rawest form as cotton and flax to the finished products on their backs, has been perpetuated both in public history and in scholarly works on the subjects of colonial consumerism and fashion. The root of this misconception may be Alice Morse Earle's 1898 *Home Life in Colonial Days.* In over 400 pages, Earle makes undocumented assumptions about every-day colonial life without allusions to primary source evidence or scholarly research. In her chapter on spinning and weaving, Earle inaccurately generalizes about the self-sufficiency of colonial Americans, and deserves to be quoted here in its entirety:

> ...We must never forget to add their independence in their own homes of any outside help to give them every necessity of life. No farmer or his wife need fear any king when on every home farm was found food, drink, medicine, fuel, lighting, clothing, shelter. Home-made was an adjective that might be applied to nearly every article in the house. Such would not be the case for under similar stress today. In the matter of clothing alone we could not now be independent. Few farmers raise flax to make linen;

> few women can spin either wool or flax, or weave cloth; many cannot knit. In early days every farmer and his sons raised wool and flax; his wife and daughters spun them into thread and yarn, knit these into stockings and mittens, or wove them into linen and cloth, and then made them into clothing. Even in large cities nearly all women spun yarn and thread, all could knit, and many had hand-looms to weave cloth at home. These home occupations in the production of clothing have been happily termed the "homespun industries."[28]

Furthermore, C.B. Rose's 1976 history of Arlington County, Virginia notes that "households were self-sufficient in most respects, growing their own flax for linen, and shearing their own sheep for wool, spinning and weaving their own cloth...there was little opportunity for commercial enterprises in the sense of shops and stores."[29] William Carlin's account book, along with other studies of colonial stores and consumers challenges the assumptions of colonial self-sufficiency by highlighting the fact that colonial Americans led active lives as consumers and did not venture to maintain total self-sufficiency, especially in the terms of textiles and clothing.[30]

In his study on early modern England, Mark Overton notes that "in an urbanized, industrial economy, few goods are produced in the home: households are dependent on the market."[31] Additionally, Jan de Vries has shown that, especially in the years preceding the Industrial Revolution, it was not always time- or economically-efficient for

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[28] Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days,* (MacMillian, 1898), 166.
[29] C.B Rose, *Arlington County Virginia: A History* (Berryville: Virginia Book Company, 1976), 42.
[30] Relevant quantitative analyses of colonial stores, goods, and consumerism that aid in 'debunking' the myth of colonial self-sufficiency include *Colonial Supermarket: Daniel Payne's Ledger for his store at Dumfries in Prince William County, Virginia for the years 1758-64* (Athens, Ga. : New Papyrus Publishing, 2007), *Virginia Merchants: Alexander Henderson, Factor for John Glassford at his Colchester Store, Fairfax County, Virginia: His Letter Book of 1758-1765* (Iberian Publishing Co., 1999), and *A Scottish Firm in Virginia, 1767-1777: W. Cuninghame and Company* (Edinburgh : Printed for the Scottish History Society by C. Constable, 1984).
[31] Mark Overton, *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750* (Psychology Press, 2004), 1.

households to assume responsibility for making their own clothing.[32] John Harrower, an indentured servant in Virginia, wrote of a rare scene of linen production he witnessed in 1775: "[in] the morning 3 men went to work to break, swingle, and heckle flax and one woman to spin in order to make coarse linen for shirts to the Nigers. This being the first of the kind that was made on the plantation. And before this year there has been little or no linen made in the Colony."[33]

Even if colonial Americans did produce significant amounts of cloth for home consumption, it is unlikely that they could produce every article of clothing they desired. Men and women may have stitched shirts and shifts in the domestic sphere—these articles were unfitted and assembled using basic geometry. However, most colonial Americans did not possess the skills needed to construct fitted breeches, jackets, waistcoats, suits, stays, and gowns. Men called upon the tailor, who was specifically skilled in the "art and mystery" of producing clothing, to construct the fitted garments in his wardrobe, while colonial women called upon the skill of the mantua-maker.

Furthermore, C.B. Rose, in explaining why clothing rarely appears on colonial probate inventories, states that "clothing had to be imported and was beyond the reach of most."[34] This statement is just one of the many inaccurate generalizations historians have used to explain how colonial Americans acquired their clothing.[35] As a tailor, William Carlin served the needs of a community whose citizens enjoyed access to both local and

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[32] Jan De Vries, "The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution," *The Journal of Economic History,* Vol. 54, No. 2, Papers Presented at the Fifty-Third Annual Meeting of the Economic History Association (June 1994), 249-270.

[33] Edward M. Riley, *The Journal of John Harrower, An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia 1773-1776* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 120.

[34] Rose, 34.

[35] Linda Baumgarten, the leading scholar of fashion and textiles in colonial America, has stated that George Washington, as well as other members of the Virginia gentry, ordered *all* of his suits from London.

imported goods, including, but not limited to, clothing and textiles. As with any modern culture, clothing in colonial America was a basic necessity, and was not out of reach geographically or monetarily. Tailors were ever-present figures on the cultural landscape, and it was to them that colonial Americans turned to acquire their clothing. The following analysis of William Carlin's account book highlights the myriad ways that a wide variety of men acquired their clothing.

The Account Book as a Framework

In the nearly thirty years since McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb's *Birth of a Consumer Society,* social, economic, and political historians of the early modern Atlantic World still engage its thesis. *Birth of a Consumer Society* set the standard for the interdisciplinary exploration of the "consumption turn," and many notable scholars have published anthologies, articles, and essays in reaction to its thesis. Some authors have taken up the charge of further examining the consumer of commodities, while other historians turned their attention to venues, suppliers, and commodities of the Consumer Revolution. Though much work has been done, most of the extant scholarship relies on the same sources, notably probate inventories and run-away advertisements. Historians need to engage new sources and methodologies in their exploration of consumerism and self-fashioning in the colonial period.

In September 2008, I undertook the job of transcribing William Carlin's account book; a process that took nearly ten months to complete. Once I finished the transcription in Microsoft Word, I imported the document into Microsoft Excel and began the process of re-formatting the data into a searchable database of dates, fabrics, customers, and clothing. The earliest date in the account book is October 28, 1763, when

Carlin notes receiving 50 yards of broadcloth from a supplier named James Todd "of York, in England." The last financial notation in the account book is dated January 20, 1787 and notes that "the above acct Between William Carlin and Moses Ball fully Settled the 20th Jany 1787 by John Moses and the Balance of Nine shillings and Ten pence due William Carlin witness our hands the day & date above, Moses Ball and William Carlin."

The surviving account book is most likely not the only business record that William Carlin kept. Frequently, a notation will make reference to an additional folio that, presumably, held additional account information for each customer. However, it is impossible to know what additional information, customers, and dates were included in other folios. Though a meticulous record-keeper and good businessman, Carlin's account book does not seem to follow any traditional or recognized contemporary accounting method. Transactions are grouped by customer, but they are not organized alphabetically by last name or chronologically by date. Instead of one page or one section devoted to one customer, a customer's transactions appear in multiple places throughout the account book. Additionally, small sections of the account book are torn or otherwise illegible. Pages of the original document tended to tear along the right hand side of book where Carlin notes prices in pounds, shillings, and pence.

Carlin's account book includes the transactions of 130 customers and over 2,000 separate financial transactions. Research on these customers and transactions reveals that Carlin made clothing for members of all social classes, including gentlemen planters such as George Washington and George Mason, merchants such as Alexander Henderson, tradesmen such as silversmith Charles Turner, and many different kinds of slaves in Alexandria, from grooms of the gentry to slaves owned by artisans. This research leads

to more questions than answers.[36] What was the nature of Carlin's clientele? Was Carlin primarily catering to members of Alexandria's gentry or were his transactions with people like George Washington atypical of his normal clientele? What new light can this information shed on the nature of clothing and the act of consumerism in eighteenth-century Virginia?

A careful reading of the activity in William Carlin's account book challenges long-upheld myths of the nature of clothing and its consumerism in eighteenth-century Virginia. Contrary to popular assumptions that the gentry always imported their clothes from England and that slaves were forced to make their own clothes from crude homespun fabrics, the analysis of customers in Carlin's tailor shop proves that the gentry, artisans, merchants, and slaves all benefited from the skill of the Virginia tailor. Through the lens of Carlin's account book, we better understand the complex, yet day-to-day nature of a world of goods and a city of consumers. Quantifying the clothing that colonial Alexandrians purchased for themselves, their family members, and their slaves, affords scholars a unique opportunity to explore the range of customers in a colonial tailor shop and gain an understanding of how different members of society experienced consumerism.

Many costume historians note that workaday garments and slave clothes rarely survive the test of time because they were "worn, washed, worked in, and worn out."[37] Just as a bride in the twenty-first century is more likely to preserve her wedding dress for posterity than an old pair of jeans, "few people went to the trouble to save plain, intimate,

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[36] "Carlin Account Book: Ledger of William Carlin of Alexandria, Virginia, 1750's-1760's," microfilm (Washington, D.C. : National Museum of American History, 1983).
[37] Baumgarten, 14.

and utilitarian apparel."[38] Due to Carlin's record keeping and painstaking notes, the plain, intimate, and utilitarian apparel that Alexandria's planters, merchants, and slaves wore while they worked are as apparent as their special occasion garments. From leather breeches to linen shirts, from wedding suits to mourning livery, these articles of clothing survive in the historic record to illuminate the lives of their wearer, their community, and their colonial context.

[38] Ibid., 27.

CHAPTER II

"Due William Carlin": The Tailor in Alexandria

In 1749, the Virginia House of Burgesses, meeting at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, proposed "An Act for Erecting a Town at Hunting Creek Warehouse in the County of Fairfax."[1] The burgesses ordered that sixty acres of land owned by Philip Alexander, John Alexander, and Hugh West to be surveyed into half-acre lots. The legislation also appointed Richard Osborn, Lawrence Washington, William Ramsay, John Carlyle, Gerrard Alexander, and Hugh West trustees of the town, and aptly named it Alexandria.[2]

As a port town, Alexandria thrived on imports and exports. Prominent planters exported hogsheads of tobacco and wheat across the Atlantic in exchange for rum, sugar, and fashionable goods. Factors operated stores and warehouses for Scottish and English merchants who imported goods from across the Atlantic world through English ports, eventually making their way to Alexandria. By 1776, Alexandria had a population of just under 2,000 inhabitants; a population which would grow to nearly 5,000 by 1800.[3] Among the residents of Alexandria were shipbuilders and carpenters, silversmiths and blacksmiths, gentry planters and slaves, merchants and tavern keepers, and white indentured servants. Many of the town's inhabitants were immigrants from England and Scotland. One of them was a tailor named William Carlin.[4]

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[1] Constance Ring, *Alexandria, Virginia, Town Lots, 1749-1801, Together with the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1749-1780* (Westminster: Family Line Publications, 1995), 189.
[2] Ibid., 3.
[3] Mary Ferrari, "Artisans of the South: A Comparative Study of Norfolk, Charleston, and Alexandria, 1763-1800," PhD dissertation, College of William and Mary, 23.
[4] The details of William Carlin's life before he made the first notations in his account book in 1763 are not known. When Carlin left for Alexandria, from England and whether or not he completed his trade's apprenticeship in England or Virginia are some of the details missing from the historical record. According

By the time William Carlin made the first annotations in his surviving account book in 1763, Alexandria was a power base for the emerging gentry who owned vast plantations on the city's periphery. Influential planters including George Washington and George Mason lived within only a few miles of the city's center. Scottish and English merchants who set up shop in Alexandria made up most of the city's population. These individuals also supplied the gentry with their every material need and assisted them in selling their tobacco and grain.

Crucial to the city's operation and success were the many artisans who also called Alexandria home. Like any locality, Alexandria's diverse citizens depended on one another to, at once, develop, maintain, and reinforce the hierarchy of society. Merchants needed artisans to build wharves and provide the workings of the city. Planters needed merchants to export their tobacco and grain in exchange for importing fashionable commodities. Among these commodities were silks, linens, wools, and cottons that would provide the props for the gentry's performance of social dominance, but also became available for consumption by all members of Alexandria's citizenry.

William Carlin's tailor shop was at the center of this circular dependence on imports and exports. From 1763-1781 William Carlin supplied the men of Alexandria with the props they needed to be identified as planters, artisans, merchants, and slaves. The customers who patronized Carlin's tailor shop were a reflection of the citizens in the town—Carlin's clientele is a reflection of the city's demographics.

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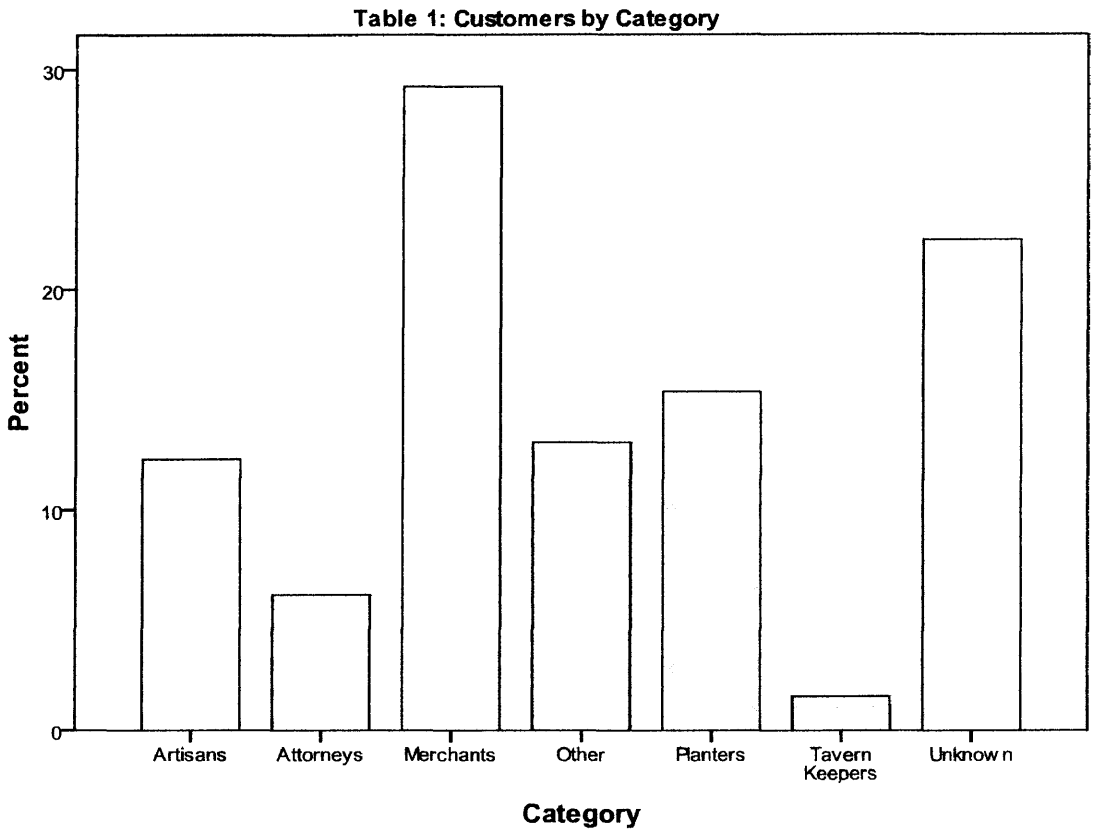
to family histories, William Carlin was born in 1732 near Pately Bridge, Yorkshire, England and then lived in London before immigrating to Virginia. When Carlin made the first marks on an blank, new accounting book for his business in 1763, Carlin was 31 years old. For information on the Carlin family, see Brown, *Data on Some Virginia Families.*



Of the clothing transactions in William Carlin's account book, members of Alexandria's wealthy gentleman-planter class make up 30 percent of the total, accounting for 732 separate transactions.[5] Gentlemen like George Washington, Bryan Fairfax, George William Fairfax, and George Mason patronized Carlin's shop from the beginning of the account book in 1763 through the 1770s. Historians have argued that "despite local availability of goods and services, many wealthy planters ordered their family's clothing and accessories directly from London."[6] While it is certainly true that prominent men in colonial society had clothes made in England, the fact that nearly half of a

[5] Though members of this gentleman-planter class are responsible for the highest percentage of purchases per occupational category, their numbers as individual customers in the account book is second to merchants. Merchants' purchases account for only 24% of Carlin's accounts, though they are the highest occupational category represented. This will be explored later.
[6] Baumgarten, 91.

colonial tailor's clientele was from this wealthy gentry class forces historians to reevaluate the frequency in which the gentry turned to Britain for their clothing.

George Washington's transactions with Carlin are 7.7 percent of the clothing transactions from his occupational category. As a gentleman planter in a prominent city, George Washington was at the top of Alexandria's social ladder. Though he warned friends to not "conceive that fine clothes make fine men, any more than fine feathers make fine birds," he knew how to dress the part.[7] White shirts and ruffles, form-fitted suits, and lace were the basic orders of the day for men who lived a life of leisure. Because elite men did not work in fields or dirty workshops, their white shirts and ruffles stayed crisp and bright. Fashionably cut and trimmed suits played an integral role in showcasing the gentry's role in society; they ensured that no one would mistake the wearer for a member of a lower social class.

To that end, George Washington frequently contacted his London clothiers, Charles Lawrence, Robert Cary, and John Didsbury for his fashionable suits and accessories.[8] A recent scholar of Washington's fashion noted that "prior to the Revolutionary War, Washington sent his clothing inquiries exclusively to London," and "remained doggedly loyal to British tailors even when their clothing did not fit properly."[9] Contrary to this belief, Carlin's account book reveals that Washington worked with his local tailor in Alexandria, Virginia from 1764 to 1771, and routinely hired him to alter garments that did not fit.

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[7] As quoted in Bruce Chadwick, *George Washington's War: The Forging of a Revolutionary Leader and the American Presidency* (Sourcebooks, Inc., 2005), 56.
[8] Brien Siegel, "The Iconic George Washington and His Sense of Style," research paper, Mount Vernon Ladies Assocation, 2008. Accessed online at http://www.mountvernon.org/files/Siegel.pdf.
[9] Ibid., 4.

As Washington turned to Carlin to fix the mistakes of London tailors, he also came to the local tailor for the making of new clothes. Though Washington ordered a variety of new garments from Carlin's hands, including coats, waistcoats, leggings, spadderdashers, and formal attire, breeches were the most common garment that Carlin produced for George Washington. Though he continued placing orders for suits and coats from his tailor in London, it seems that Washington may have given up on Charles Lawrence's ability to accurately judge his height and breadth for the purpose of making a comfortable and satisfactory pair of breeches. By June, 1768 Washington wrote to Lawrence, "I think you have generally sent my Cloaths too short and sometimes too tight, for which Reason I think it is necessary again to mention that I am full six feet high."[10] William Carlin provided Washington with the fitted—and fashionable—clothing he needed in order to maintain his place in Alexandria's complex and visible social order. Revered and respected within the region, Washington's tastes could set the bar for the remainder of society, who were seeking to emulate the fashionable dress of the local gentry.

George Washington was not the only member of the colonial elite to wear clothes from Carlin's hands; other prominent members of Alexandria's planter-gentleman class relied on Carlin's services, as well. George Mason's transactions account for 18.9 percent of the total, or 138 separate transactions. The master of several large land holdings, including Gunston Hall, Mason ordered clothing from Carlin's hands from 1764-1775. The most interesting aspect of Mason's dealings with Carlin is that his

[10] Ibid., 12.

transactions include not only clothes for himself, but for four of his sons as well.[11] For example, on December 24, 1774, Mason and his sons William, Thompson, and John all received new breeches.[12] However, the majority of the clothing that William Carlin produced for members of Alexandria's gentleman-planter class was for men of the Fairfax family. George William Fairfax's transactions with Carlin account for 31.6 percent of the entire occupational category's total (See Appendix). Bryan Fairfax's accounts alone total 15.4 percent, and Robert Fairfax accounts for 6.7 percent.[13]

Members of Alexandria's merchant class make up 24 percent of the transactions in Carlin's account book. Though Alexandria's planter-gentry are responsible for the most amount of transactions in Carlin's records, there are more merchants represented in the lines of the account book than any other occupation in Alexandria—thirty-eight merchants in contrast to twenty elite planters. Among the men in this category is James Kirk, who hosted the British diarist Nicholas Cresswell when he stayed in Alexandria in 1774.[14] John Carlyle, a wealthy, high-profile merchant with a large Georgian-style home overlooking the wharves that brought fashionable goods to the city, also frequented Carlin's tailor shop.

Alexandria's artisans make up 13 percent of the clothing purchases in Carlin's accounts. Customers in this category represent a wide cross-section of the men who worked with their hands—in dirty shops, at smoke and soot-filled forges, and on wet wharves, such as blacksmith Joel Cooper, ship builder Thomas Fleming, joiner Going

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[11] This will be discussed in a later chapter.
[12] William Carlin to George Mason, December 24, 1774; 140.
[13] Together, the Fairfax family accounts for 53.7% of the transactions in this occupational category.
[14] See Harold B. Gill, Jr., *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009).

Lanphier, and silversmith Charles Turner. In all, Carlin produced clothes for one architect, two blacksmiths, one builder, two coopers, one hatter, five joiners, two ship builders, one silversmith, and one tanner. Carlin produced 305 garments for Alexandria's artisans, including thirty-eight waistcoats, thirty-six coats, and seventeen suits, with fabric choices ranging from a velvet suit for hatter Jonathan Butcherth, to a country cloth suit for silversmith Charles Turner, with silk waistcoats, nankeen breeches, and drab suits in between.

Though the clothing for planters, merchants, and artisans comprise nearly 70 percent of Carlin's business, tavern keepers, attorneys, physicians, and other members of Alexandria society also turned to William Carlin for clothing. Carlin made nineteen coats, eighteen suits, and eighteen waistcoats for men such as physician William Brown, Reverend Townsend Dade, sheriff John Hite, and Mount Vernon tutor Walter Magowin. The customer with the most transactions in this "other" category is Thomas Bishop. Bishop's presence in Carlin's account book is interesting because of his relationship with another one of the tailor's customers—George Washington. Thomas Bishop, an Englishmen, served as General Braddock's servant during the French and Indian War. After Braddock's death, Bishop began a working relationship with George Washington, acting as his manservant and then as an overseer on Washington's Muddy Hole farm.[15] In addition to yard goods, Bishop purchased a pair of shag breeches, coats, stockings, and waistcoats from William Carlin.

William Carlin also serviced other equally-visible, yet marginal members of Alexandria society—the slaves and servants who worked on the plantations and in the

[15] For more information on Thomas Bishop, see *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008.

homes of planters and in the workshops of the city's merchants, tavern keepers, and artisans. Carlin made clothing for the apprentices of Alexandria's artisans, as well. Artisans made provisions for the clothing of their apprentices in their accounts with Carlin. Builder James Parsons purchased clothes for two of his apprentices, Samuel Wroe and George Barnes, who trained to become a bricklayer.[16] In addition to apprentices, Alexandria's free citizens also utilized a workforce of both white indentured servants and African-American slaves. Many customers in Carlin's accounts purchase clothing for other men in their accounts. Because the men have not been identified, and because Alexandria relied heavily on white indentured servitude, it is plausible to assert that many of these unidentified individuals were servants of more prominent members of society.[17]

As was true for any adult male, when slaves or their masters sought to have clothing made, repaired or remade, they needed to solicit a tailor. Carlin's accounts provide an interesting view of how slaves acquired clothing in colonial Virginia, and what they wore. The dress and decorum of a domestic servant was interpreted by people in the eighteenth century as a direct reflection on their master and of their status as slaves. Thus, having a highly skilled tailor such as William Carlin construct garments for slaves ensured that the slave's clothing would fit well and accurately reflect his master's position in society. As such, it is unlikely that the gentryman's personal slaves wore disheveled, ill-fitted clothing as they accompanied their master on errands or represented

[16] Fairfax County Order Book, 175; Fairfax County Deed Book P-1; 328.
[17] For more about white indentured servitude in Northern Virginia, see John A. Cantwell, "Imported Indentured White Servitude in Fairfax and Prince William Counties, 1750-1800," Master's thesis, George Mason University, 1986. A telling example of a customer making purchases for men other than himself is merchant Robert Adam's transactions with Carlin. Clothing for at least twelve different individuals appear in Adams' account with Carlin.

them in the community or plantation house. For example, Thomas Jefferson's slave Jupiter routinely traveled with him throughout Virginia, conducting business while his master was busy with politics or social events. In Williamsburg, Jupiter was a familiar face on Duke of Gloucester Street, entering various shops to make household purchases for Jefferson. Just as Thomas Jefferson needed the appropriate clothing to maintain his reputation among the gentry in the city, so too did his slave, Jupiter, in order to represent Jefferson in the shops of Williamsburg.[18] Whether clad in livery or simple garments, slaves were a visible part of the community who moved throughout the marketplace, with or without their masters.

Movement through the marketplace certainly included stepping inside the walls of Carlin's tailor shop to be measured for their clothing.[19] Notations of clothing made for slaves in William Carlin's account book appear in the records the tailor kept with their masters. For the purpose of this study, all occurrences of the words "slave," "Negro," and "people" to denote clothing purchases, were calculated, including phrases such as "To making yr Negro Boy Britches" and "To making 3 waistcoats for Your People." Additionally, transactions for slave clothing in Carlin's account book were identified because Carlin specifically noted the slave's name in association with the article of clothing for which his master was being charged. Out of 2,333 clothing transactions recorded in his account book (in more than twenty years worth of tailoring experience), 11.75 percent of these transactions were specifically for slaves. In sum, 37 percent of

[18] For example, Thomas Jefferson gave Jupiter cash to pay for candles, pins, and paint in merchant stores on Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg. For more, see *Jefferson's Memorandum Books: Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826,* edited by James A. Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton (Princeton, N.J.:Princeton University Press, 1997), 348-349, 376.

[19] Graham Hodges notes that slaves "traveled to pick up commodities for their masters" and even used this time to procure necessities and luxuries for themselves. See Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North* (Madison House: 1997), 55-57.

Carlin's clientele, whether gentry planters, merchants, or artisans, made purchases for their slaves at the same time that they made purchases for themselves (See Appendix).

Though livery for members of Alexandria's gentry elite accounts for over 50 percent of the clothing that Carlin produced for slaves, the tailor constructed a myriad of garments for slaves of Alexandria's artisan and merchant population. The types of clothing that Carlin produced for these slaves is fairly typical of what any man would receive from his tailor. In all, Carlin produced ninety coats, fifty-eight pairs of breeches, thirty-nine suits, seven great coats, and fourteen frocks for the slaves owned by Alexandria's merchants, artisans (such as joiners, builders, and blacksmiths), and tavern keepers.[20]

Out of the 276 slave clothing transactions in Carlin's account book, 41 percent of the orders were for the making of clothes, while 13 percent were for mending an extant garment, and 3 percent were for altering a garment because of improper fit.[21] This data suggests that not only were slaves receiving new clothes specially made for them, but also that Carlin was able to measure and fit slave clothing properly the first time, negating the need for return visits to make alterations.

William Carlin served all members of Alexandria's society. The tailor shop acts as a microcosm of the city's demographics as a whole. Carlin's accounts for a single day in November 1769 further reinforce this point. On November 22, 1769, six men representing at least four occupations passed through the walls of the tailor shop. In one

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[20] John Styles notes that the *types* of garments worn in the eighteenth-century remained constant across social barriers, while the differences between the classes could be reflected in fabric and accessories. For more, see John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

[21] The remaining transactions for slave clothes in Carlin's account book are for purchasing buttons, lining fabric, twist, and other notions.

day, Carlin did business with joiner Thomas Munroah, planter Bryan Fairfax, merchants John Muir and James Stewart, attorney Benjamin Sebastian, and William Gibs, whose occupation is unknown. On the eve of the American Revolution, when other social spaces became increasingly stratified, the tailor shop provided the exception.[22] Every man in colonial Alexandria required the services of a local tailor to construct their clothing.

[22] Daniel B. Thorp examines the development of inclusivity and exclusivity of taverns as social spaces. Thorp notes that taverns were divided along racial and ethnic lines.. According to Peter Thompson, taverns were spaces of social mixing and interaction, but only until the last quarter of the eighteenth-century. "Typical tavern assembly grew less heterogeneous in the final third of the eighteenth century, as gentlemen grew less willing to rub shoulders with artisans [in the] claustrophobic atmosphere previously typical of the city's taverns." Thompson goes on to state that by the years of Carlin's account book (the years leading up to the American Revolution), "wealthy merchants usually drank in taverns of their own, in which the likes of shipyard workers were not welcome...this change...reflected and to some extent promoted changes in the very marrow of the city's cultural and political life." Carlin's account book dates from the period that Thompson discusses in his book, but the range of Carlin's clients during this period do not reflect the shift toward more socially exclusive spaces that Thompson describes. See Daniel Thorp, "Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753-1776," *Journal of Southern History,* Volume LXII, No. 4 (November 1996): 661-688 and Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

CHAPTER III

The Tailors' Trade: Art and Mysteries Across the Colonial Landscape

When Washington ordered his liveried slaves' suits from London, he wrote his tailor, "the Livery Suits must be made by Measures taken of Men, as nearest their size as you can judge...the Servants that these Liverys are intended for, are 5 feet 9 Ins. And 5f. 4. In. high and proportionably made."[1] These simple instructions were essential communication to a tailor expected to construct a hand-sewn, fitted garment. Hand-sewn clothing was not a luxury item. Until the mid-nineteenth century, hand sewing remained the standard mode of production for any garment—whether its wearer was a wealthy member of the gentry, a middling artisan, or a slave.

The price paid to a tailor to construct a garment was only a fraction of the total cost of the garment. More money was spent to purchase the fabric.[2] Because of their necessity and low income, an eighteenth-century British observer wrote that tailors endured the reputation of being "as numerous as locusts...and generally as poor as rats."[3] While we may never know how many locusts were in colonial Virginia, the number of tailors is easier to obtain. In the *Virginia Gazette*, out of 1305 advertisements placed by ninety-one different categories of tradesmen, tailors' advertisements accounted for eighty-one of the total advertisements. Tailor's advertisements make up 6 percent of total advertisements from extant copies of the *Virginia Gazette* from 1736-1780. Tailors' advertisements are third behind those of tutors and doctors (9 percent and 8 percent

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[1] W.W. Abbot, ed, *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series, 2: August 1755-April 1756* (University Press of Virginia, 1983), 207-208. GW to Richard Washington, December 6, 1755.
[2] Cost ratios for the tailor's services and the prices of fabrics are discussed further in Chapter 3.
[3] Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: 1747), 193.

respectively).[4] In Alexandria, Virginia, where Carlin practiced his trade, a distribution of the city's occupations from 1764-1800 reveals that 19.5 percent of the local artisans were involved in clothing crafts, including tailors. This total is second only to the percentage of those inhabitants employed in construction trades (29.3 percent).[5] This overwhelming number of tailors speaks to their necessity in a society that did not produce their own clothing.

Most men and women in the eighteenth century were familiar enough with a needle and thread to make simple repairs and to construct basic garments as well as bed and table linens. Because their construction utilized basic geometry, articles such as shirts and shifts could be sewn at home, provided the wearer had enough leisure time to dedicate to the work. However, full garments required the knowledge and skill of the men and women who learned their trades through an apprenticeship—usually seven years of studying a trade under a master of that trade. Apparel such as breeches, coats, and waistcoats were fit closely and formed precisely to the body, and required the skill of a trained tailor to construct.

A tailor's skill lay in his ability to measure, cut, and fit a man for a garment. Because most colonists lacked the ability to construct their clothing, everyone needed to

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[4] Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Tradesmen in the *Virginia Gazette*, http://research.history.org/JDRLibrary/SpecialProjects/Manville/Summaries/TradeTotals.cfm, accessed November 2009.

[5] "Census of Inhabitants, 1795, 1796, 1797, Lloyd House, Alexandria, Virginia;" "Census of Inhabitants, 1799-1800," Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia; Alexandria Gazette, 1784-1800; Alexandria Advertiser Times and D.C. Daily Advertiser, 1797-1800; in Mary C. Ferrari, "Artisans of the South: A Comparative Study of Norfolk, Charleston, and Alexandria, 1763-1800"(PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 1992), 23.

utilize the skills of the tailor. Even the Virginia Company included a tailor in the first expedition to Jamestown in 1607, and sent six more tailors to the early colony in 1608.[6]

According to one eighteenth-century source, the tailor must be skillful enough to "bestow a good shape where nature has not designed it."[7] To accomplish this, a tailor needed to systematically record a series of detailed measurements across a man's body. *L'Art du Tailleur,* M. de Garsault's 1769 treatise on the art of the tailoring trade chronicles twenty different measurements of a man's body needed to cut a man's suit. De Garsault writes:

> The tailor must take the measurements of the person for whom the clothes are going to be made; a strip of paper, one inch wide and of the requisite length is used, it is called a measure. It is placed on the body wherever the size is required and each measurement is marked on the measure by a snip of the scissors.[8]

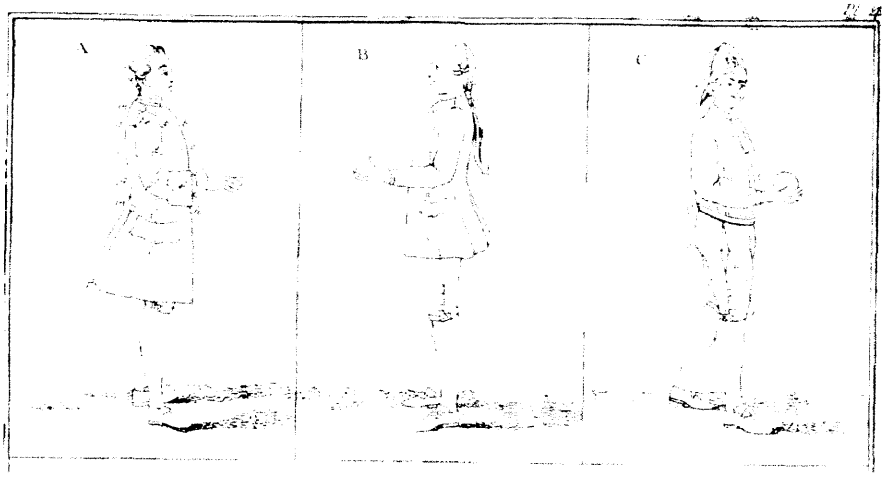

FIGURE 1: Detail of Plate 4, M. de Garsault, *L'Art du Tailleur,* 1769, illustrating the measurements needed to construct a suit. Courtesy of Gallica, Bibliothèque Numèrique.[9]

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[6] William Love was the tailor who accompanied the Jamestown settlers in 1607. Tailors John Powell, Thomas Hope, William Beckwith, William Yonge, Laurence Towtales, and William Ward arrived in Jamestown in 1608, making tailors the most numerous tradesmen in Virginia's early years. For more, see "Jamestown Discovery: First Settlers," at http://www.preservationvirginia.org/rediscovery/page.php?page_id=31.

[7] Campbell, 192.

[8] M. De Garsault, *L'Art du Tailleur; Description de Arts et Metiers* (Paris: Academie Royale des Sciences), 1769, reprinted in Norah Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes: 1600-1900* (New York: Routledge Theatre Arts Books, 1964), 86.

[9] The full plate can be viewed online at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k108876j/f68.

The way garments fit on a man's body was as important as a man's fabric choice. Proper fit could signal a man's social standing or provide him with the support he needed to perform a day's work. Properly cut garments eased a man's shoulders and back into a fashionable, upright posture, and breeches with a fitted waistband enabled him to ride horses or lean over a forge. Colonial men took the fit of their garments seriously. Even during campaigns in the American Revolution, a time when many other comforts were set aside, the cultural normality and necessity of fitted clothing led enlisted soldier Benjamin Gilbert to note his frustrations over his clothing. On January 21, 1778, only six days after receiving a new coat from a tailor he wrote, "I had my Coat Sleves let out in the fore noon and Cookt in the after noon."[10] This was just one of eight entries over a four month period where Gilbert mentioned altering or swapping clothing items due to improper fit.

It is clear that proper fit was also important to Carlin's customers. When Carlin noted the services he provided to his patrons, 64 percent was for making a new garment. However, 16 percent of his services were for mending garments, 4 percent of his services were for altering, and another 3 percent was for remaking garments. Mending, altering, and remaking garments through the course of multiple years of wear ensured that the garment's purposes—whether to display wealth and leisure or enable a laborer to do his work—remained intact.

George Washington's accounts with Carlin provide a lens into which to explore the importance of cut and fit even further. When Washington sent orders for clothes to London tailors, he consistently noted his large size and lanky stature, knowing that these

[10] Benjamin Gilbert, *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution: The Diary of Benjamin Gilbert* (New York: New York State Historical Association, 1980), 23.

details were necessary in the construction of fitted clothing. In an order for a coat, Washington wrote Lawrence, "let it be fit in other respects for a Man full 6 feet high and proportionately made."[11] Further correspondence from Washington to his London factors reveal that Washington was not satisfied with the quality of the garments he received from his London tailor: "I have hitherto had my Cloathes made by one Charles Lawrence in old Fish Street but whether it be the fault of the Taylor, of the Measure sent I can't say but certain it is my Cloathes have never fitted me well."[12]

To eradicate his frustrations with poorly-fitting garments, Washington turned to William Carlin. Washington brought to Carlin's shop coats that needed mending, and breeches and suits that needed altering. With Washington standing as his own model, Carlin could lengthen breeches, widen the breadth of coats, and restore an appropriate shape to the tall and "proportionately made" gentleman. Carlin charged Washington "to myself one day altering your clothes," "to altering your blew britches," and "to altering your great coat."[13]

The Tailor Shop

With so many tailors catering to the needs of thousands of colonists, one can only imagine the number of tailor shops that dotted the streets of colonial America's major cities. Sixteen tailor shops lined the streets of Virginia's colonial capital of Williamsburg.[14] The slaves, artisans, merchants, and gentry who passed through the doors of Carlin's tailor shop illustrate that, though clothing could certainly uphold social

[11] Quoted in Siegel, 5.
[12] Quoted in Siegel, 11.
[13] William Carlin to George Washington, June 2, 1764; 105 (unless otherwise noted, page numbers of the Carlin Account Book reflect the page number assigned on the microfilm).
[14] http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/Winter02-03/tenant.cfm and http://www.history.org/almanack/life/trades/tradetai.cfm.

hierarchies and inequalities, the act of entering the tailor shop ensured that, even if for a brief moment, social mixing could be experienced in this eighteenth-century space. Additionally, the very act of being measured and fit for clothing was an intimate experience that all members of the social strata experienced in eighteenth-century Virginia. Images of tailor shops survive from the eighteenth century. Along with other primary sources and architectural histories, it is possible to recreate how Carlin's many customers experienced the physical space of the eighteenth-century tailor shop.

Ample light was not only an important aspect of the tailor's space, but a necessity. The eighteenth-century workday for a tradesman depended on the availability of his light source. Though candles could provide a warm glow, tailors needed abundant, bright sunlight to practice their trade. Nearly every period image of an eighteenth-century tailor's shop displays tailors and their tools sprawled in front of vast windows. The anonymous painting *Interior of a Tailor's Shop,* dating from the 1760s, depicts tailors stitching, sitting in front of a window that spans the width of the garret. Further illustrating this point, William Carlin hired builder and joiner Richard Lake to install skylights in his shop in 1767.[15]

[15] William Carlin to Richard Lake, November 20, 1767: 43.

FIGURE 2: Anonymous, *Interior of a Tailor's Shop,* 1767-1800. Courtesy of the Museum of London.

In order to measure an individual for his garments in a more private venue, Carlin could bring a customer in a back room for the intimate, yet necessary work of measuring him for his clothing. *The Merchant Tailors* provides this view of a back room in the tailor's shop. Tailors utilized this separate space to measure their customers, but used it as an office, as well. This differentiation of space can also be seen in architectural studies of similar buildings in eighteenth-century Virginia. A contemporary of William Carlin, merchant-tailor Robert Nicolson owned and ran a store in Williamsburg, Virginia that survives today. The shop "indicates the need for space at the front for use as a display room (and) also (a) sales room, while other space at the rear is used for storage, for work, or for probable office use."[16] The back room of the tailor shop was also the only space with a fireplace. It was in a space such as this that Carlin could very well have made the notations in the account book that survives today.

[16] A. Lawrence Kocher, "Nicolson Store Architectural Report, Block 17 Building 4 Lot 56," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, Williamsburg, VA: 1953.

FIGURE 3: George Bickham the Younger, *The Merchant Taylors,* London, 1749. Courtesy of The British Museum.

Eighteenth-century sources also illustrate the number of workers moving through the front and back rooms of the tailor shop. While eight men sit cross-legged on the table in front of the window, one man, standing, looks on. As a journeyman—the term given to someone who has completed an apprenticeship in a trade- Carlin certainly presided over numerous other workers in his shop who could be seen stitching, cross-legged, on tables. In 1765, Fairfax Parish bound John Longden and Uriah Colton to William Carlin. In 1768, the parish bound eight-year old orphan Gilbert Bains to Carlin, and in 1772, nine-year old William Floyd.[17] According to parish records, Carlin was responsible for teaching these children the art and mystery of the tailor's trade, as well as how to read and write.

[17] F. Edward Wright and Wesley E. Pippenger, *Early Church Records of Alexandria City and Fairfax County, Virginia,* (Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1996), 55-56, 63, 65.

It is plausible to assert that Carlin had a least one slave working in the shop. Multiple notations in his account book dictate that Carlin's "man" made deliveries, noted payments from customers, and assisted in other transactions. Carlin also had another worker, Thomas Dawson, of whom little is known. Carlin kept track of the "number of days Dawson did not work as pr agreement," but paid him when he did work. Dawson may have been an unskilled worker or a laborer, or a slave hired out between planting seasons.

William Carlin's tailor shop was located on the corner of King and Royal Streets in Alexandria, Virginia.[18] Situated in a prominent location in the city's developing downtown, customers did not have far to travel to visit the tailor's shop from the places where they worked or lived. George Mason owned a townhouse only 200 feet from Carlin's shop; George Washington's townhouse was less than half a mile away. Of the customers in Carlin's accounts whose Alexandria-area homes have been identified, no one was more than a mile away from Carlin's services.

Though William Carlin operated his shop out of a structure on an urban lot, he also provided services to plantation owners on the fringe of the city. Plantation owners with domestic servants and field slaves to clothe required Carlin's services. Historians have long assumed that slaves on large plantations received clothing from the hands of enslaved seamstresses, or wore hand-me-downs from the planter's family. However, Carlin's transactions involving slave clothing confirm that slaves, whether the property of vast plantation owners or skilled urban artisans, received clothes coming from a tailor's

[18] Local tradition holds that Carlin's shop occupied the same lot that twentieth-century residents remember as Kaufman's Shoe Store. For more, see Dakota Best Brown, *Data on Some Virginia Families* (Berryville: The Virginia Book Company, 1979), 44.

hands. Whether Carlin visited plantations to cut out clothing or fitted them in his Alexandria shop, slaves were not strangers to this colonial tailor.[19]

While some slave owners did strive for self-sufficiency by growing flax for the production of thread and linen for slave clothing, plantation and domestic slaves did not always possess the required equipment or skill. Historian Philip Morgan has shown that from 1730 to 1776, only three percent out of 1,529 plantations surveyed in York and Essex County, Virginia had equipment sufficient for making clothing, such as scissors, spinning wheels, and looms.[20] Additionally, plantations and slave-owners did not always have slaves who were skilled in the art of tailoring. Slave owners and slaves alike wore hand-stitched, fitted clothing. Carlin and his customers lived in an age roughly seventy-five years before the invention of the sewing machine, though he did see the technology for mechanical sewing in his lifetime. In 1790, an English shoemaker devised a machine that could stitch shoe leather, but the technology was not applied to the clothing market until ten years after Carlin's death. In 1830, a French tailor devised the first practical sewing machine and set up a factory serving the French military. By 1840, this invention had so infuriated tailors, who were still working by hand, driving a mob to destroy the factory and the eighty machines in it. Elias Howe's version of the sewing machine did not come into wide use until the 1840s, and did not gain wide home-use popularity until the 1860s.[21]

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[19] Slave clothing will be discussed in the next chapter.

[20] See *Table 8: Secondary and Tertiary Equipment on Virginia and South Carolina Plantations, 1730-1776,* in Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Low Country* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 54.

[21] For more on the history of the sewing machine, see The Museum of American Heritage's concise history of the sewing machine in America at http://www.moah.org/exhibits/virtual/sewing.html.

Though many slave-owners' probate records note the presence of slaves who were skilled seamstresses, these seamstresses still needed the assistance of tailors to cut cloth into appropriate shapes and sizes for later assembly. Many plantation owners, then, enlisted the services of white tailors to cut yards of fabric for slave clothes; slaves were not always skilled to make the most economical uses of fabric.[22] Thus, plantation owners requested the outside help of a white tailor like William Carlin to assist in clothing themselves as well as their slaves.

Multiple transactions in Carlin's account book demonstrate a relationship between slave seamstresses and white tailors, indicating that Carlin cut out articles of clothing for Alexandria slaves, but did not piece them together. On November 28, 1770, Carlin cut out "three Neagro Suits" for Mr. John Muir, an Alexandria cabinetmaker.[23] Carlin charged merchant Joseph Watson "To cuting Your Neagro a Suit" on November 20, 1765 and charged another merchant, Robert Adam "To cuting Neagro Cloths."[24] These slave owners paid Carlin for the cutting out of clothing for their slaves, and likely appointed a seamstress to finish the work. George Washington also understood the importance of a tailor to constructing slave clothing. On February 4, 1770, George Washington wrote in his diary, "At home all day. Carlin the Taylor came here in the afternoon and stayed all Night."[25] Washington's ledger books reveal that Carlin came to Mount Vernon to measure Washington and cut clothes for some of his slaves. Washington, who understood the nature of a tailor's trade, was conscious of how clothing ought to fit. He recognized

[22] Baumgarten, "Clothes for the People," 43.
[23] William Carlin to John Muir, November 28, 1770: 83.
[24] William Carlin to Joseph Watson, November 20, 1765: 109; William Carlin to Robert Adam, date unknown: 147.
[25] The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, Diaries (11 March 1748–13 December 1799), Volume 2 (14 January 1766–31 December 1770), see also 1764–72 (Ledger A, 184, 217; Ledger B, 47; GW's account with Carlin 26 Sept. 1772, ViMtvL).

that tailors like Carlin needed to take a series of different measurements of a man's body to construct a suit, and took the customer's height, weight, and proportions into account when producing a fitted garment.

FIGURE 4: William Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress: the Young Heir Taking Possession*, 1733. A tailor measures a man in his home.[26]

[26] Michael Rosenthal, *Hogarth* (London: Chaucer Press, 2005), 67.

CHAPTER IV:

"Extremes as to Dress": Dressing for Virginia

For most of the eighteenth century, colonists strived to emulate British style in all things—utilizing the same textiles, colors, and fashionable cuts that were prevalent across the Atlantic. However dedicated to British fashion colonists may have been, Virginia's climate forced change. William Hugh Grove remarked that Virginians "affected London Dress and ways" in all times excepting the summer months.[1] Virginians constantly adapted what passed for "fashionable" and "elite" in response to their region's climate. Members of the gentry designed homes with central passageways which provided the home with a necessary social sorting space as well as a place that allowed the flow of cool air through their homes. When John Harrower arrived in Virginia in August of 1774, he may not have been expecting to experience such a sweltering climate: "I suppose you wou'd scarce know me now," he wrote home, "...there being nothing either brown, blew, or black about me but the head and feet, I being Dressed in short cloath Coat, vest coat, and britches all made of white cotton without any lyning, and thread stockings and wearing my own hair curled around like a wig."[2] Harrower's letter at once describes the characteristics of normal clothing while also providing clues about how Virginians adapted their fashion to accommodate the region's intense temperatures.

It is clear that William Carlin clothed Alexandrians to mitigate Virginia's famous high temperatures. A young traveler received advice from his brother before embarking to Virginia in 1765: "Your clothing in summer must be as thin as possible for the heat is

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[1] William Hugh Grove quoted in Mark L. Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture,* Vol. 2 (1986), 139-140.

[2] Edward M. Riley, ed., *The Journal of John Harrower, An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia 1773-1776* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 57.

beyond your conception...you must carry a stock of linnen waistcoats made very large and loose that they may not stick to your hide when you perspire."[3] Carlin certainly knew how to clothe Alexandrians for the heat. In his accounts, Carlin specified the color white forty-four times, making up 14 percent of the colors in the account book, making it the third most popular color of garment to come out of his tailor shop. As brown, blue, and black were the most common colors Harrower dressed in, they remained the most common colors of everyday clothing in the eighteenth-century. Of the twenty-eight different colors of fabrics that Carlin noted in his accounts, blue was, by far, the most common, totaling 22 percent of the instances where Carlin mentioned a color. Black and brown were not far off, making up 18 percent and 5 percent, respectively (See Appendix). Carlin dressed Alexandrians in white country cloth, white dimity, white drill, white Holland, and white jean—all breathable, cotton and linen-based fabrics. Carlin also produced clothing that, in their descriptions, were specifically for wear during the hot summer months, including two summer coats, four summer suits, and four summer waistcoats.[4]

As unbearable as Virginia's summer heat could be, Virginia's winters could also be extremely bitter. In December 1774, Nicholas Cresswell, an Englishman living with merchant James Kirk in Alexandria, wrote that Virginia's weather was "exceeding cold (and) frosty," and that the colony's winter was "more severe then ever I felt it in England."[5] Perhaps Cresswell acquired winter garments similar to those that Carlin made. Carlin produced clothing that was specifically for wear during Virginia's coldest

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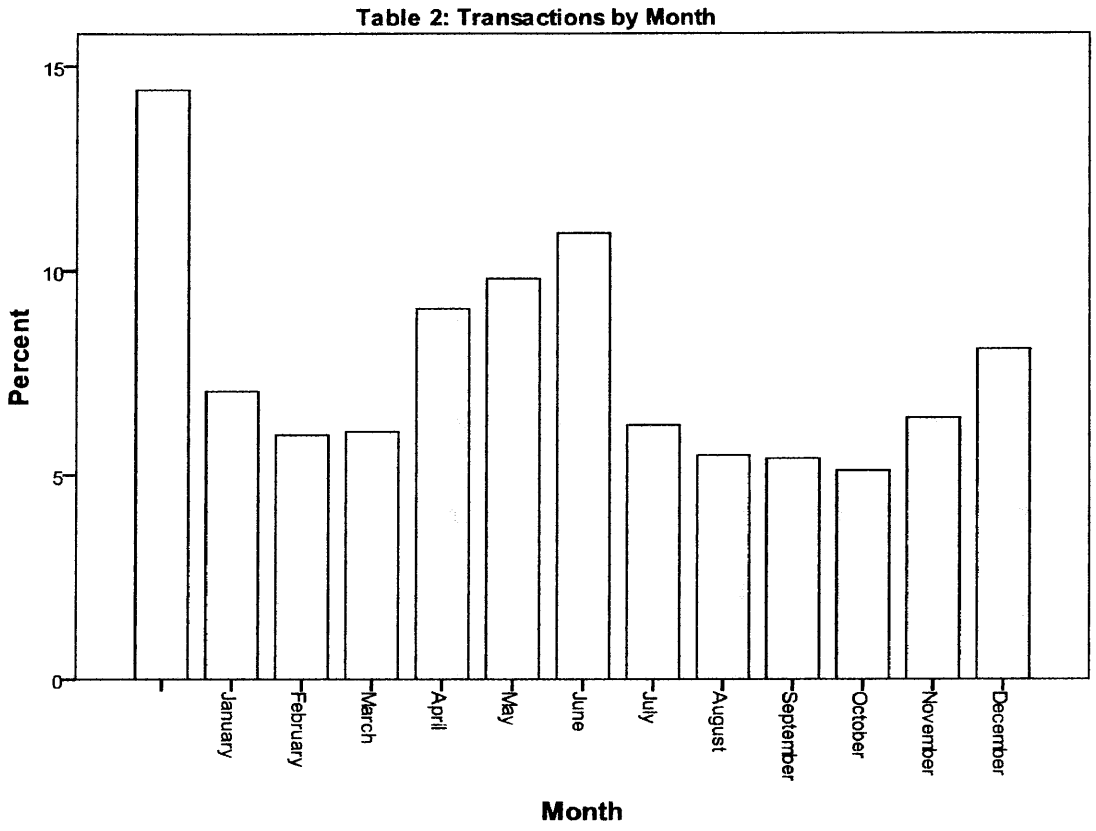
[3] Wenger, 140.
[4] See Table 2 for the seasonality of Carlin's transactions.
[5] Gill, 31.

months, including twenty-nine great coats, eight winter suits, four winter coats, and one winter waistcoat. Carlin also constructed flannel drawers for George Mason in November.



Textile Choices

As much as Virginians took seasonality into account for their clothing, they needed to dress for their every-day lives as well. Everyone in Alexandria's society had a job to do—whether that meant overseeing others doing work or doing work themselves—and their clothing could both reflect their position in life and the positions they desired to emulate. Through Carlin's tailor shop and a myriad of merchants in Alexandria provided a wide variety of textiles to members of every social class in the city. The availability of

textiles confounded a writer in the *Boston Gazette* in 1765, who wrote "We run into...Extremes as to Dress; so that there is scarce any Distinction between Persons of great Fortune, and People of ordinary Rank."[6] As it was in Boston, in Alexandria it was not possible to tell, by a passing glance on the street, who a person was by noticing their clothing. The clothing of Alexandria's slaves produced in Carlin's tailor shop is a particularly illuminating way to explore the ways that clothing interacted with citizens' professions, and demonstrates that no one fabric—be it silk, leather, or osnaburg—was exclusive for use in one social class (See Appendix).

Historians have long assumed that masters chose for slave clothing materials of a quality inferior than the materials they used for themselves. Philip Morgan argues that slaves' clothes were designed for their durability and that the fabric used for their clothing was selected exclusively for that purpose. In *Slave Counterpoint,* Morgan states "clothes with labels that touted their sturdiness-whether Foul Weather, Fearnothing, or Everlasting- were not designed with comfort in mind."[7] Though it could be easily assumed that these fabrics were reserved only for the construction of slave clothing because of their durability and coarseness, data in Carlin's account book proves otherwise. In fact, James Kirk, a merchant who served as mayor of Alexandria from 1785-1786, ordered Everlasting breeches from Carlin in September 1771.[8] Even George Washington owned two pairs of Everlasting breeches produced by Carlin's hands.[9]

Osnaburg is another fabric that is commonly noted for its exclusive use in slave clothing. In the eighteenth century, osnaburg, named for its place of manufacture in

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[6] *Boston Gazette,* January 7, 1765, cited in T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution,* 156.
[7] Morgan, 127.
[8] "To makeing Yr Everlasting Bretches," William Carlin to James Kirk, September 1771: 96.
[9] William Carlin to George Washington, August 28 1770: 129.

Osnabruck, Germany, was made of unbleached linen.[10] Along with a recent analysis of John Hook's store in New London, Virginia, data in Carlin's account book supports the findings that members of all social classes utilized osnaburg in their clothing.[11] Carlin's account book denotes thirty-eight transactions involving osnaburg. Only three of these transactions can be directly associated with an article of slave clothing. The most intriguing purchase of osnaburg was an order by Sarah Turley, whom Carlin charged for her purchase of twenty yards of the coarse linen.[12] It is possible that Turley acted as a seamstress who stitched shirts and other basic garments for slaves on plantations, for Alexandria's white indentured servants, or for a variety of Alexandria's citizens.

Leather is another material that challenges the assumption that utilitarian fabrics were only suitable for slaves. According to notes in Carlin's account book, the most common material that he utilized for slave clothing was leather, and leather breeches make up 5 percent of the garments constructed for slaves. It is also interesting to note that out of the 388 pairs of breeches Carlin constructed for all members of Alexandria's society, both free and enslaved, leather was the material chosen most often—supporting textile historians' notions that leather breeches were the blue jeans of the eighteenth-century. Utilitarian and durable, leather breeches were part of the standard work-a-day ensemble for any man undertaking any amount of work.

Other fabrics that made up slave clothing in Carlin's tailor shop span a wide variety of what was available in the marketplace, and do not suggest that any one fabric was used exclusively for slave clothing. Carlin produced suits of frieze–a coarse wool–

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[10] Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2007), 312.
[11] See Note 4 in Martin's *Buying Into a World of Goods*.
[12] William Carlin to Sarah Turley, date unknown: 116.

for slaves, merchants, and members of Alexandria's gentry. George Mason's personal slave, James, received plush breeches, the same type of fabric Carlin used to produce a coat for merchant Joseph Watson. Shipbuilder Thomas Fleming, George Washington, and the slave of a prominent planter each walked the streets of Alexandria in drill breeches.[13]

Living in Clothing

In addition to exploring the fabrics that slaves, along with many other Alexandria citizens wore on a daily basis, Carlin's account book provides glimpses into the relationships between consumers and their clothing on very specific occasions, and how those clothes had roles to play in the lives of Alexandria's citizens. One set of transactions illustrates clothing a slave received from Carlin's tailor shop. In 1772, Alexandria silversmith Charles Jones entered William Carlin's shop and placed an order for a striped waistcoat, a winter coat for himself, and a coat for his slave, Joe.[14] In 1775, Carlin charged Jones for "mending yr Neagro lether Britches."[15] Two years later in 1777, Charles Jones placed a runaway advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette,* which read:

> Run away from the subscriber in Fairfax county, near Alexandria, about the 10th of Agust, a young negro man named JOE, about 21 years of age, about 5 feet 8 inches high, well made, has a round face, which is full of small bumps, a mole on his neck, and large flat feet. Had on when he went away an osnabrug shirt and trousers, but may probably change his clothes; he can read and wright. I have understood that he wants to enslist as a freeman. Whoever takes up the said negro and brings him home, or secures him so that his master may get him again, shall receive the above reward, and all reasonable charges, paid by Charles Jones.[16]

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[13] William Carlin to George Mason, June 16, 1772: 72; William Carlin to Joseph Watson, February 1769: 69; William Carlin to Thomas Fleming, June 8, 1771: 19; William Carlin to George Washington, August 28, 1770: 129; William Carlin to George West, June 22, 1774: 126.
[14] William Carlin to Charles Jones, June 7, 1772: 127.
[15] William Carlin to Charles Jones, January 1775: 127.
[16] Virginia Gazette, Number 137, September 12, 1777 (Purdie).

Taken together, Joe's presence in Carlin's account book, along with his description in the *Virginia Gazette,* affords scholars a rare connection between the many runaways of the eighteenth century and their material life as expressed through clothing. If understood simply through the runaway advertisement, Joe becomes a mere statistic—one of many runaways in Virginia in the eighteenth-century. However, because Joe retains a presence in Carlin's account book, he emerges as a tangible representation of the relationship between slaves, their masters, and their clothing. When Charles Jones took Joe to Carlin's shop for a coat, Joe was about sixteen years old. By the time Joe was about nineteen, his leather breeches needed mending, suggesting that Joe was working alongside his master as an assistant. By the time he ran away at age twenty-one, Joe could read and write; an education most likely afforded to him by his master so that Joe could assist with orders and bookkeeping. Though these details may seem small, they are invaluable to scholars of eighteenth-century slaves and their clothing. The information in Carlin's account book concerning Jones's purchases for Joe, along with the runaway advertisement's description of Joe at the time of his disappearance, provides scholars with information about slaves' everyday clothing, its purpose, and master-slave relationships.

George Mason's accounts with William Carlin from 1764 to 1775 provide a window into the ways in which fashion marked life passages. Mason's clothing purchases for his sons, the heirs to his vast land holdings and reputation, provide an insight into the life cycle of clothing. In 1767, when Mason began making purchases for his sons at the same time he made purchases for himself, his eldest son, George (V), was fourteen years old, William, ten, and Thomson, eight.

Before they were "breeched," young boys dressed in petticoats, not unlike the articles of clothing of their female relatives wore. These skirts allowed children both free-range in movement but also accommodated their stays, an undergarment that gently taught boys and girls proper, upright posture. Boys left off their stays at the time of their transition from petticoats to breeches, which occurred sometime between four to eight years of age. "The change from petticoats to breeches was a big event in a little boy's life…[it] symbolized growing up and moving from the female domain to the male."[17]

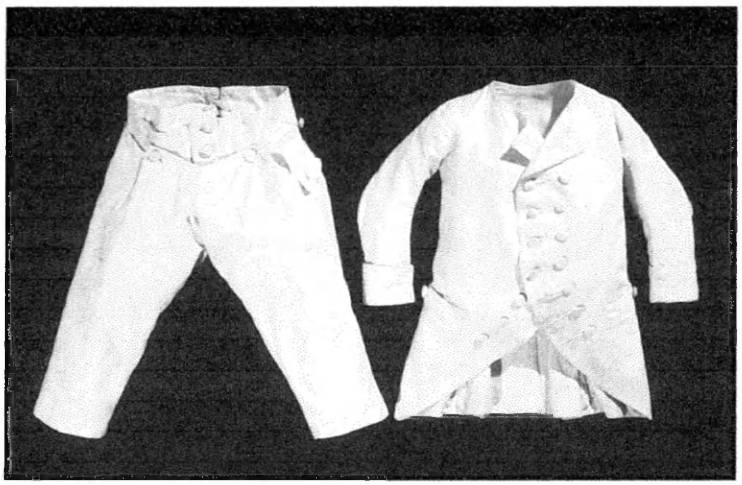

FIGURE 5: *Boy's suit, Britain, 1775-1790, white cotton lined with linen.*[18]

March 18, 1772 may have been the big day for Mason's youngest son, John, who entered Carlin's tailor shop for "a coat and breeches of hairbone."[19] Born on April 4, 1766, this event occurred shortly before John's sixth birthday.[20] Together with the age at which John first appears in the account book, and Mason's long history of patronage to

[17] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* 166-168.
[18] Ibid., 171; The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, from the collection of James Frere.
[19] "Hairbone" may be hairbine, a silk and worsted fabric that was typical for use in constructing men's clothing. It could also be herringbone, which denoted any textile woven in a zig-zag pattern. For more on these textiles, see Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870,* New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2007.
[20] For more on John Mason, see Gunston Hall, http://www.gunstonhall.org/georgemason/mason_family/john_mason.html.

Carlin's shop, it is highly likely that this transaction describes the first event that signified John's entrance into manhood. Though John became a successful merchant, banker, and businessman in France and Alexandria, his adult life began in William Carlin's tailor shop.

As a young child John learned that life could symbolically begin in the tailor's shop; one year later he learned that the end of life could be recognized as well. When his mother, George's wife Ann, died in childbirth in March of 1773, the Masons went into a period of mourning. Similar to other social customs in Virginia, this necessitated specific props–in this case, black crepe mourning suits.[21] On April 2, 1773, Carlin charged Mason's account for "making yr Suit of Mourning...making Yr Son George a Suit...making Son Wm and Thompson a suit to each...making Son John a suit Crape...making Man James a suit."[22] Only a year after John received his first suit of clothes from Carlin's hands, he received mourning attire, as well. At barely seven years old, young John learned the role that clothing would play in life, and in death.

The Masons were not the only customers to receive mourning clothes from Carlin. Carlin produced at least fifteen mourning suits from 1765-1773 for a variety of customers, though most of them were gentlemen planters. Carlin made mourning suits for Joseph Thompson (merchant), George Johnston (attorney), Fleming Patterson (merchant), Bryan Fairfax (planter), William Ramsay (merchant), George Mason

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[21] Pamela C. Copeland and Richard K. MacMaster, *The Five George Masons: Patriots and Planters of Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975), 116.

[22] William Carlin to George Mason, April 2, 1773: 72. Every member of the Mason family needed mourning attire after Mrs. Mason's death and James, as George's enslaved groom and personal servant, was no exception. This will be discussed further in another chapter.

(planter) and his sons, James (Mason's groom), Thomas Kirkpatrick (merchant), Benjamin Moody (surveyor), Henry Rozer (planter), and Doctor Lowry (physician).

Mourning was not the only life event for which Carlin produced clothing. Additionally, his accounts note that he produced at least two wedding suits, one for Alexandria gentleman Charles Alexander and another for attorney Robert Hanson Harrison, though there are no clues that tell us what these suits may have looked like. Carlin's account book illustrates that clothing functioned beyond a basic necessity and as a medium to protect oneself from the climate—clothing accompanied life's rites of passage.

CHAPTER V:

"Inclination to Finery": Economics and The Consumer Revolution

By the time William Carlin set up his Alexandria tailor shop in the 1760s, the colonies were well-entrenched in the Consumer Revolution. Though society was heavily stratified on the basis of wealth and property ownership, the revolution in production, marketing, and credit made it possible for more people to purchase goods than ever before. Before the credit crisis facing London banks in 1772, credit was widely available and easily accessible to nearly everyone who asked for it. In Alexandria, and many other city centers, one certainly did not need to be a member of the gentry class to shop like one. The rising middle class gained access to Wedgwood pottery, tea, fine furnishings, and textiles.

This new access to goods became increasingly evident to travelers on the east coast. When Dr. Alexander Hamilton toured the American colonies in 1744 with his slave Dromo, he took note of what he saw inside the log home of a poor family on the Hudson River. Though the house appeared clean and otherwise starkly furnished, Hamilton could not contain his anxiety over the fashionable and "superfluous things which showed an inclination to finery in these poor people."[1] Though the children of the poor family were "quite wild and rustic," they dined with "half a dozen pewter spoons and as many plates...bright and clean," and drank tea from stone tea dishes and a matching tea pot.[2] However "wild and rustic" this family appeared, their consumption of

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[1] Carl Bridenbough, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744* (Pittsburg: The University of Pittsburg Press, 1992), 54-55.
[2] Ibid.

tea and desire for "superfluous things" connected them with even the most wealthy colonists, and the growing availability of goods and credit made this connection possible.

The lower and middle class' access to goods only became more apparent as the century progressed. When Johann Conrad Dohla traveled the American colonies as a Hessian soldier in 1781, he witnessed the same phenomenon that Hamilton had described forty years earlier. While traveling through Fredericksburg, Virginia, Dohla recalled that he "saw many individual houses built in a poor manner of wood and covered with clay and patched together. But inside they were richly and well appointed, and in part furnished with the finest articles."[3]

Colonists' desire for fashionable goods not only pertained to fine furnishings or dinnerware. Their taste for finery also extended to their wardrobes. Nowhere is this more evident than in William Carlin's account book. The orders that Carlin took on credit reflect the needs of people who are at once dressing for success and dressing to impress. Though colonial Virginia's population was deeply stratified in terms of wealth and landholdings, even the lowest classes of society desired to attain a higher quality of life and yearned to emulate their social betters. As an English writer wrote of the impacts of fashion, "a strong emulation in all the several stations (sparks) a perpetual restless ambition in each of the inferior ranks to raise themselves to the level of those immediately above them."[4]

Colonial Virginia's class deference and interdependency necessitated the citizenry's interaction Through social and economic transactions, clothing functioned as

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[3] Bruce E. Burgoyne, *A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 185.

[4] E.W. Gilboy, "Demand as a Factor in the Industrial Revolution," in *The Causes of the Industrial Revolution in England,"* ed. R.M. Hartwell (London, 1967), 128.

both a practical necessity and an effective way to communicate and interact in society. The lack of sumptuary laws in eighteenth-century Virginia meant that colonists were able to wear whatever fabrics, colors, and styles of dress they desired.[5] For colonists in William Carlin's Alexandria, nothing was out of bounds.

While clothing reflected a wide range of motivations in eighteenth-century Virginia, from elaborate self-fashioning to workaday functionality, no matter what its essential purpose, most articles of clothing in the eighteenth century needed to be measured, cut, and fit to the body of its wearer. As Robert Campbell wrote in 1747, "No Man is ignorant that a Taylor Is the Person that makes our Cloaths; to some he not only makes their dress, but, in some measure, may be said to make themselves."[6] In short, clothes make the man. Historians have postulated that in the eighteenth century, "nowhere was social inequality more evident than in the clothes people wore."[7] As colonial Virginia society defined itself by adherence to strict hierarchies and social orders, clothing and textile consumption presented a unique dichotomy based on choice and the nature of the tailors' trade.

Along with food and shelter, clothing made up the fundamental requirements for everyday life. In its most basic form, clothing was an affordable necessity. Because all members of Alexandria's social spectrum acquired garments from William Carlin, it is possible to understand the amount of money, whether real or in credit, which a variety of

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[5] Though attempted for a short time at Jamestown, Virginia in the seventeenth century and other colonies such as Massachusetts, legislatures in the eighteenth century never adopted or enforced sumptuary laws in Virginia.For a discussion of the history of sumptuary legislation in England, see Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England,* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1926). For a discussion of sumptuary laws enacted at Jamestown, see Rebecca Ann Bach, *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

[6] Campbell, 193.

[7] Baumgarten, 106.

customers spent on their clothing. William Carlin's account book illustrates that the majority of the cost of any given garment lay primarily in the price of the fabric that customers selected—not the labor and construction involved in making it. While Carlin's account book illustrates that he did stock yardage of fabrics, the majority of the transactions suggest that customers purchased yard goods elsewhere, perhaps from other Alexandria merchants, and brought the fabric to Carlin to construct the garments.

The transactions in which customers did purchase fabric from Carlin before having the garments constructed provide information about the total cost any citizen could expect to spend on their clothing. For example, when George William Fairfax paid Carlin for making his groom Tobey a scarlet livery suit in 1764, the cost of making the suit was £1.2.0. However, an earlier transaction with Fairfax reveals that Fairfax purchased five yards of scarlet broadcloth (wool) at £1.3.0 a yard, for a total of £5.0.15. When Carlin charged Brian Fairfax for making a suit of blue superfine (also wool) in 1768, the cost was £1.5.0, while the cost of only 1 ¼ yards of superfine was £2.1.3.[8]

According to the methods of cutting advertised by Jonathan Prosser, a tailor in Williamsburg, at least four full yards of cloth was needed to produce "a dress suit for a large size."[9] Therefore, by comparing the costs of making wool garments to the materials needed, the total cost of a woolen garment represents an average of a 4:1 ratio—William Carlin only received one fourth of the total value of the garment for his payment in constructing it. Linen, however, represents a more equal ratio than compared to wool,

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[8] For a discussion in the changing costs of yard goods in the last half of the eighteenth-century, see Leslie A. Bellais, "Textile Consumption and Availability: A View from an 18th-Century Merchant's Records," M.A. Thesis, The College of William and Mary, 1987.

[9] Prosser, http://research.history.org/JDRLibrary/SpecialProjects/Manville/ShowMany.cfm?Name=Prosser%20Jonathan.

with the cost of the fabric and the making of the garment. For example, merchant Jonathan Hall's brown Holland coat cost eight shillings for Carlin to make, while the cost of two and one half yards of Holland was £ 0.6.3.[10]

The complexity of the garment that a customer ordered from William Carlin also impacted the garment's final cost to the consumer. Carlin charged shipbuilder Thomas Fleming's £ 0.3.6, for making a waistcoat, while the cost of making attorney George Johnson's trimmed waistcoat was £0.7.0. This illustrates, to a minor degree, that the complexity and ornamentation of the garment raises the cost of Carlin's labor in stitching it together. The making of merchant Richard Harrison's double breasted waistcoat cost him £0.5.0, illustrating that even the addition of another row of buttons and buttonholes increased the cost of constructing an otherwise simple garment. When Robert Fairfax ordered a striped silk waistcoat from William Carlin in 1770, Carlin's fee for measuring, fitting, cutting, and sewing the garment was £2.3.3—more than four times the cost of a single-breasted, untrimmed waistcoat. Accounting for this extreme difference in cost may be a combination of the challenges involved in fitting silk, as well as coordinating and lining up the stripes in the garment. Both silk and stripes present different challenges to the tailor. Silk is very much like paper in texture. Unlike wool, linen, or cotton, the fibers do not stretch or give, necessitating the cut to be absolutely perfect on the customer. Additionally, stripes need to be coordinating, not only with the cut and style desired by the consumer, but also must be lined up with other pieces of the garment (such as pocket welts, buttons, or other trim).[11]

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[10] According to Prosser's advertisement, Carlin would need 2 ½ yards of fabric to construct a coat.
[11] Based upon the experiences of Neal Hurst, Colonial Williamsburg apprentice tailor, during his Journeyman's project for his apprenticeship in the Historic Trades Department.

Though customers routinely put their transactions with William Carlin on credit, an examination of the cost of clothing in Carlin's account book is meaningless unless it is possible to contextualize the value of that cost in relation to one's income or the price of other contemporary goods and services. According to Robert Campbell's 1747 *The London Tradesman*, a joiner received, on average, "generally half a crown a day," for their work, or about two and one half shillings or thirty pence.[12] If this wage held true for Alexandria in the 1760s, joiners Edward Rigdon, Thomas Munroe, William Munday, Richard Leake, and Going Lanphier could pay William Carlin for a double-breasted waistcoat with the wages of two working days. Cooper Spence Minor's weekly wage was probably fifteen shillings a week- more than enough to pay Carlin for the making of two waistcoats at eleven shillings, and a shirt and trousers for only three shillings. If shipbuilder Thomas Moxley made the same average income of eighteen shillings a week as his London counterparts, his transaction on one day in William Carlin's tailor shop would equate to just under his weekly wage—Moxley paid Carlin for a gray coat and a quantity of rum to go with it.

In addition to the Consumer Revolution, customers in William Carlin's tailor shop had another revolution on their minds—the American Revolution. Through the course of only a few years, colonists' desires to maintain their Britishness by consuming the "baubles of Britain" had given way to their need to be politically proactive. Showing their discontent with Parliament resulted in various measures, not least of which involved the non-importation of British goods, including yard goods and ready-made clothing. This desire to enact patriotism via consumption (or lack thereof) was fervent, especially

[12] All average wages can be found in Robert Campbell's *The London Tradesmen*.

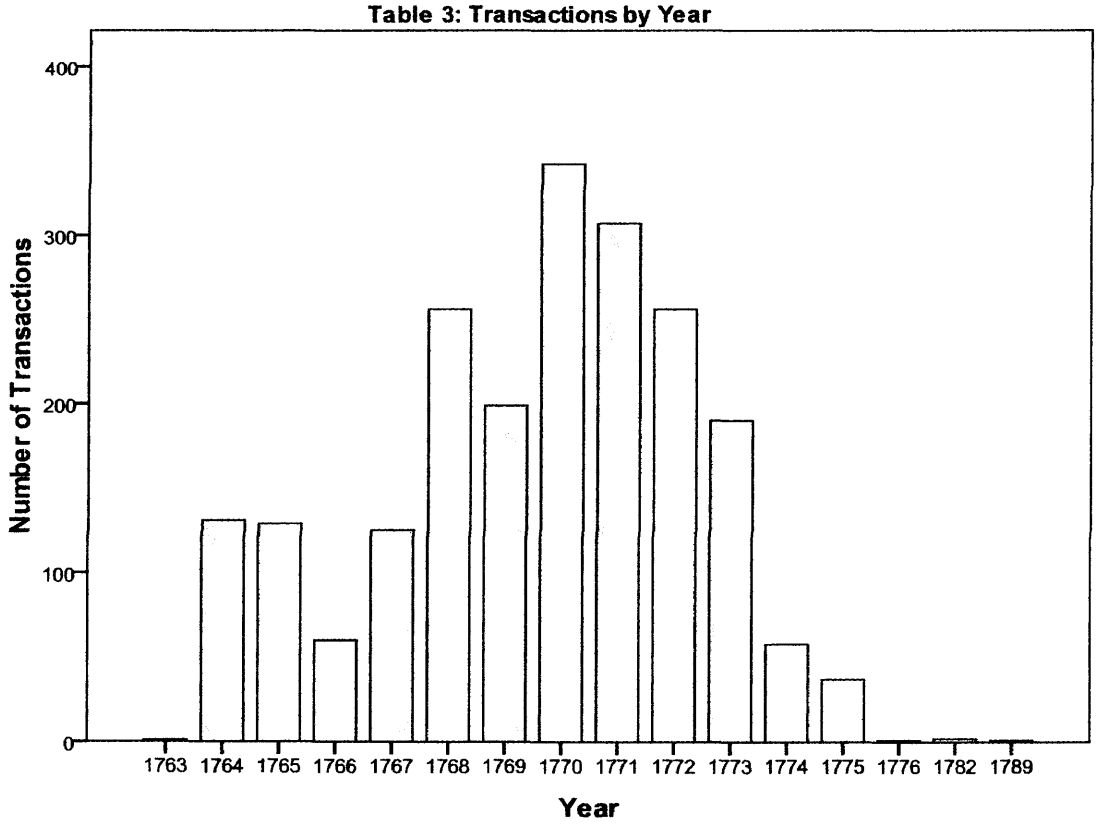
in Alexandria, when George Washington circulated copies of the Fairfax County Non-Importation agreement in 1770. William Carlin sold, cut, and stitched fabrics imported not only from Britain, but from around the world, funneled through British ports. The colonists' desire to stand up to Britain by a lack of consumption could have drastically impacted William Carlin's tailoring business. By comparing the years in which William Carlin received the most business, the activities of his customers, and the gentlemen who signed the Fairfax County Non-Importation Agreement, it is clear to see that Revolutionary fervor did not have a negative impact on Carlin's business—in fact, 1770 was Carlin's busiest year (See Table 3).

Of the members of the planter and merchant elite who signed the Fairfax County Non-Importation Agreement in 1770, at least eight were active customers of William Carlin: John Dalton, Peter Wagener, George Mason, William Ramsay, John Carlyle, William Belmain, Robert Adam, and John West, Jr. As the Fairfax Agreement renounced all importation of commodities from Britain, including fabric, one would assume that Carlin's business would show symptoms of a population cutting back on conspicuous consumption. However, Carlin's business nearly doubled from 1769 to 1770, jumping from 199 transactions to 342.

Carlin's business may have doubled because colonists were eager to utilize the textiles already in the colonies before supplies came to a shortage—a simple matter of supply and demand. It is also possible that clever merchants in Alexandria took after Falmouth merchant William Allason, and purchased an abundance of textiles from Britain from 1769-1770 in anticipation of political upheaval.[13] By bringing previously

[13] Belaise, 31.

imported fabrics to William Carlin, no one stood to be found in violation of the Non-Importation Agreement. It is also possible that members of the gentry such as George Washington, who routinely did receive clothes from London tailors, made the choice to shop locally, and patronize a local tailor for their new clothes in 1770. Regardless of the reasons that may be behind Carlin's spike in business in 1770, it is clear to see that the even when Alexandria's citizens desired to curb their enthusiasm for British goods, they still wanted to look good doing it.



CONCLUSIONS

In 1765, a writer in the *Connecticut Courant* noted, "no age can come up to the present, when by their dress, the clerk, apprentice, or shopman, are not distinguishable from their master; nor the servant maid, even the cook-wench, from her mistress."[1] The analysis of William Carlin's account book verifies this proclamation by the Connecticut writer. From the years 1763-1782, Carlin produced clothing for all members of Alexandria, Virginia's stratified society. Everyone, from indentured servants and slaves, to artisans and merchants, and the planter-gentry, wore clothing from the hands of Carlin the tailor, and all members of Alexandria's society passed through the walls of the tailor shop. William Carlin measured and fit elite gentry for their clothing alongside of their domestic slaves. He welcomed coopers, blacksmiths, joiners, merchants, tavern keepers, and gentry planters inside the walls of his shop, and made house calls to the colonial elite. Carlin produced the clothes worn by Washington and Mason as they oversaw the workers on their plantations, and he also made the clothes worn by those who did the work. Carlin offered his carefully-honed services, acquired through years of apprenticeship to learn his trade, to measure and fit men for their clothing.

Simply put, all male members of colonial society—free or enslaved—were reliant upon their tailors for the construction of their clothing. Evidence in William Carlin's account book, together with an understanding of the nature of the tailor's trade and the prolific number of tailors in any community, reinforces this aspect of eighteenth-century life. The tailor provided men with the clothing they needed to cope with Virginia's climate, as well as to facilitate ushering in life's milestones and changes. Contrary to

[1] *Connecticut Courant,* June 10, 1765, quoted in T.H. Breen, *Marketplace of the Revolution.*

previous assumptions that colonial Americans made do with a minimalist wardrobe, clothing in William Carlin's account book at once functioned as a practical necessity as well as a tool to mitigate the demands of work, climates, and social expectations. Carlin produced the clothing that signaled important stages of life—entrance into adulthood, mourning the loss of family members, and entering into marriage. With help from the Consumer Revolution and the city's merchants, Carlin provided Alexandria's citizens with clothing made from all the textiles that the Atlantic marketplace had to offer, and continued to facilitate citizens' fashionable desires through the turbulent years of the American Revolution—desires that non-importation could not stifle.

The importance of Carlin's account book cannot be understated. The account book offers historians a rare insight into the accessibility and necessity of clothing in the eighteenth century, and its importance in the daily lives of a wide cross-section of early Americans. The account book's potential to provide historians with even more information about the nature of clothing and its wearers in eighteenth-century Virginia is only yet to be realized.

APPENDIX 1: Transactions by Customer

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	93	3.8	3.8	3.8
Abraham Barnes	4	.2	.2	4.0
Abraham Hite	4	.2	.2	4.2
Alexander Henderson	4	.2	.2	4.3
Andrew Wales	22	.9	.9	5.2
Benjamin Beeler	12	.5	.5	5.7
Benjamin Dulaney	4	.2	.2	5.9
Benjamin Moody	10	.4	.4	6.3
Benjamin Sebastian	19	.8	.8	7.1
Bennett Brown	12	.5	.5	7.6
Bryan Fairfax	113	4.7	4.7	12.2
Captain Omay	11	.5	.5	12.7
Charles Alexander	42	1.7	1.7	14.4
Charles Jones	15	.6	.6	15.0
Charles Turner	16	.7	.7	15.7
David Henley	10	.4	.4	16.1
David Young	6	.2	.2	16.4
Dorothy Young	5	.2	.2	16.6

Dorrell	1	.0	.0	16.6
Dr. Lowry	13	.5	.5	17.1
Edward Rigdon	11	.5	.5	17.6
Fleming Patterson	24	1.0	1.0	18.6
George Alexander	38	1.6	1.6	20.2
George Fowler	2	.1	.1	20.2
George Johnson	62	2.6	2.6	22.8
George Mason	138	5.7	5.7	28.5
George Muir	4	.2	.2	28.6
George Washington	56	2.3	2.3	31.0
George West	11	.5	.5	31.4
George William Fairfax	231	9.5	9.5	40.9
Going Lanphier	46	1.9	1.9	42.8
Hector Ross	10	.4	.4	43.2
Henry Haynsley	3	.1	.1	43.4
Henry Riddell	6	.2	.2	43.6
Henry Rozer	12	.5	.5	44.1
James Adam	32	1.3	1.3	45.4
James Hendricks	7	.3	.3	45.7
James Kirk	69	2.8	2.8	48.6
James Parsons	55	2.3	2.3	50.8
James Stewart	22	.9	.9	51.7

James Todd	1	.0	.0	51.8
James Wrenn	2	.1	.1	51.9
Joel Cooper	12	.5	.5	52.3
John Butcher	5	.2	.2	52.6
John Carlyle	11	.5	.5	53.0
John Dalton	5	.2	.2	53.2
John Gladding	22	.9	.9	54.1
John Gowen	20	.8	.8	54.9
John Hill	2	.1	.1	55.0
John Hite	19	.8	.8	55.8
John Minor	7	.3	.3	56.1
John Muir	12	.5	.5	56.6
John Mure	22	.9	.9	57.5
John Parke Custis	7	.3	.3	57.8
John Ratcliff	2	.1	.1	57.9
John Spinks	4	.2	.2	58.0
John West	7	.3	.3	58.3
John Wilson	14	.6	.6	58.9
Jonathan Hall	12	.5	.5	59.4
Jonathan West	8	.3	.3	59.7
Jones	2	.1	.1	59.8
Joseph Harrison	4	.2	.2	60.0

Joseph Thompson	2	.1	.1	60.1
Joseph Watson	49	2.0	2.0	62.1
Lewis Gibbs	8	.3	.3	62.4
Lund Washington	10	.4	.4	62.8
Michael Gretter	13	.5	.5	63.4
Moses Ball	1	.0	.0	63.4
Mr. Gilpin	21	.9	.9	64.3
Mr. McLane	1	.0	.0	64.3
Mr. Mungin	11	.5	.5	64.8
Mr. Smith	5	.2	.2	65.0
Mr. Thorton	7	.3	.3	65.3
Mrs. Hunter	2	.1	.1	65.3
Nancy Gist	2	.1	.1	65.4
Peggy Johnson	3	.1	.1	65.5
Peter Robinson	3	.1	.1	65.7
Peter Wagener	21	.9	.9	66.5
Peter Wise	16	.7	.7	67.2
Philip Alexander	2	.1	.1	67.3
Platt Townsend	6	.2	.2	67.5
Richard Harrison	38	1.6	1.6	69.1
Richard Leak	20	.8	.8	69.9
Robert Adam	67	2.8	2.8	72.7

Robert Dade	31	1.3	1.3	73.9
Robert Ederlin	10	.4	.4	74.4
Robert Fairfax	49	2.0	2.0	76.4
Robert Hall	3	.1	.1	76.5
Robert Harrison	23	.9	.9	77.5
Robert Howe	12	.5	.5	77.9
Robert Muir	35	1.4	1.4	79.4
Samuel Freeman	9	.4	.4	79.8
Sanford Rhodes	2	.1	.1	79.8
Sarah Turley	26	1.1	1.1	80.9
Spence Minor	4	.2	.2	81.1
Stewarts	4	.2	.2	81.2
Susannah Paterson	11	.5	.5	81.7
Thomas Bishop	40	1.6	1.6	83.3
Thomas Dawson	16	.7	.7	84.0
Thomas Fleming	46	1.9	1.9	85.9
Thomas Hardy	2	.1	.1	86.0
Thomas Kirkpatrick	20	.8	.8	86.8
Thomas Monroe	26	1.1	1.1	87.9
Thomas Moxley	10	.4	.4	88.3
Thomas Witherington	27	1.1	1.1	89.4
Townsend Dade	45	1.9	1.9	91.3

Townsley Bruse	2	.1	.1	91.3
Walter Bean	17	.7	.7	92.0
Walter Magowin	1	.0	.0	92.1
William Belmain	10	.4	.4	92.5
William Brown	26	1.1	1.1	93.6
William Elsey	3	.1	.1	93.7
William Gibbs	10	.4	.4	94.1
William Grisham	16	.7	.7	94.8
William Herbert	6	.2	.2	95.0
William Hunter	3	.1	.1	95.1
William Munday	32	1.3	1.3	96.5
William Ramsey	15	.6	.6	97.1
William Read	11	.5	.5	97.5
William Roe	4	.2	.2	97.7
William Rumley	20	.8	.8	98.5
William Shaw	2	.1	.1	98.6
William Thompson	1	.0	.0	98.6
William Tyler	10	.4	.4	99.1
William Wilson	11	.5	.5	99.5
Wood	12	.5	.5	100.0
Total	2426	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX 2: Slave Clothing Purchased by Customer

	Slave Transactions	Total
Andrew Wales	2	2
Benjamin Dulaney	4	4
Benjamin Sebastian	3	3
Bennett Brown	1	1
Bryan Fairfax	16	16
Charles Alexander	5	5
Charles Jones	4	4
Charles Turner	1	1
David Henley	1	1
Dr. Lowry	1	1
Edward Rigdon	2	2
George Alexander	6	6
George Johnson	14	14
George Mason	5	5
George Washington	9	9
George West	1	1
George William Fairfax	97	97
Going Lanphier	12	12
Henry Rozer	3	3
James Kirk	11	11
James Parsons	5	5
James Stewart	7	7
John Butcher	3	3
John Hite	3	3

	John Muir	1	1
	John Mure	4	4
	John Parke Custis	1	1
	John West	1	1
	John Wilson	1	1
	Jonathan Hall	1	1
	Joseph Watson	2	2
	Peter Wise	1	1
	Robert Adam	19	19
	Robert Fairfax	15	15
	Thomas Fleming	3	3
	Townsend Dade	4	4
	William Munday	5	5
	William Ramsey	1	1
	William Wilson	1	1
Total		276	276

APPENDIX 3: Colors

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		2106	86.8	86.8	86.8
	Black	57	2.3	2.3	89.2
	Blue	69	2.8	2.8	92.0
	Brown	17	.7	.7	92.7
	Buff	4	.2	.2	92.9
	Check	1	.0	.0	92.9
	Checked	5	.2	.2	93.1
	Cinnamon	1	.0	.0	93.2
	Claret	13	.5	.5	93.7
	Coal	1	.0	.0	93.7
	Copper	6	.2	.2	94.0
	Crimson	5	.2	.2	94.2
	Dark	1	.0	.0	94.2
	Gray	14	.6	.6	94.8
	Green	20	.8	.8	95.6
	Lead	3	.1	.1	95.8
	Light	9	.4	.4	96.1
	Light Blue	1	.0	.0	96.2
	Pea Bloom	1	.0	.0	96.2
	Red	4	.2	.2	96.4
	Sage	1	.0	.0	96.4
	Salmon	2	.1	.1	96.5
	Scarlet	22	.9	.9	97.4
	Sky Blue	3	.1	.1	97.5
	Spotted	4	.2	.2	97.7

Striped	11	.5	.5	98.1
Violet	1	.0	.0	98.2
White	44	1.8	1.8	100.0
Total	2426	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX 4: Textiles

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1950	80.4	80.4	80.4
Alapeen	1	.0	.0	80.4
Beaver	3	.1	.1	80.5
Bombazine	1	.0	.0	80.6
Broadcloth	4	.2	.2	80.8
Calico	1	.0	.0	80.8
Camlet	4	.2	.2	81.0
Cassimere	2	.1	.1	81.0
Cherryderry	1	.0	.0	81.1
Cloth	13	.5	.5	81.6
Corduroy	1	.0	.0	81.7
Cotton	1	.0	.0	81.7
Country Cloth	4	.2	.2	81.9
Crape	6	.2	.2	82.1
Damask	4	.2	.2	82.3
Denim	13	.5	.5	82.8
Dimity	3	.1	.1	82.9
Drab	10	.4	.4	83.3
drill	1	.0	.0	83.4
Drill	39	1.6	1.6	85.0
Drugget	1	.0	.0	85.0
Duffel	1	.0	.0	85.1
Duroy	24	1.0	1.0	86.1
Durrant	1	.0	.0	86.1
Everlasting	4	.2	.2	86.3
Fearnought	2	.1	.1	86.4

Ferret	1	.0	.0	86.4
Ferret Silk	1	.0	.0	86.4
Flannel	11	.5	.5	86.9
Flemming	1	.0	.0	86.9
Frise	13	.5	.5	87.5
Fustian	19	.8	.8	88.3
Fustin	1	.0	.0	88.3
Gingham	3	.1	.1	88.4
Grain Cloth	1	.0	.0	88.5
Hairbine	2	.1	.1	88.5
Holland	23	.9	.9	89.5
Jean	8	.3	.3	89.8
Jean Fustian	1	.0	.0	89.9
Leather	36	1.5	1.5	91.3
Linen	1	.0	.0	91.4
Livery Cloth	1	.0	.0	91.4
Melton	2	.1	.1	91.5
Mohair	2	.1	.1	91.6
Nankeen	42	1.7	1.7	93.3
Osnaburg	4	.2	.2	93.5
Persian	1	.0	.0	93.5
Plush	2	.1	.1	93.6
Pompadour	2	.1	.1	93.7
Ribbed	1	.0	.0	93.7
Sagathy	13	.5	.5	94.3
Satin	2	.1	.1	94.4
Seersucker	1	.0	.0	94.4
Serge	12	.5	.5	94.9
Sergedenim	4	.2	.2	95.1
Sergednim	1	.0	.0	95.1

Shag	8	.3	.3	95.4
Shalloon	1	.0	.0	95.5
Sheeting	3	.1	.1	95.6
Silk	15	.6	.6	96.2
Silk Jean	1	.0	.0	96.2
Stocking	6	.2	.2	96.5
Superfine	26	1.1	1.1	97.6
Tammy	1	.0	.0	97.6
thickset	1	.0	.0	97.7
Thickset	4	.2	.2	97.8
Ticking	2	.1	.1	97.9
Velvet	23	.9	.9	98.8
Welton	3	.1	.1	99.0
Wool	1	.0	.0	99.0
Woolen	3	.1	.1	99.1
Wove	19	.8	.8	99.9
Yarn	2	.1	.1	100.0
Total	2426	100.0	100.0	

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